

STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA



3 0144 00376038 6

S  
CLASS 909

BOOK 5a34

VOLUME 23



PENNSYLVANIA  
STATE LIBRARY







# Modern History ; OR, THE PRESENT STATE *Perma State Library* ALL NATIONS.

## DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures, and Husbandry, Plants, Animals, and Minerals.

---

By Mr. *SALMON*.

---

## V O L. XXIII.

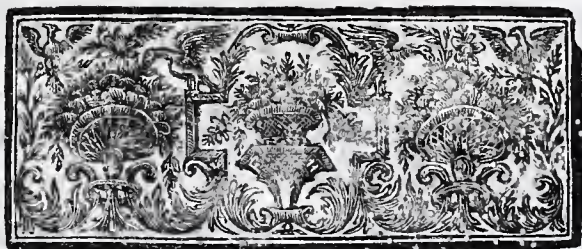
Contains the latter Part of the Reign of King CHARLES II. and the entire Reign of King JAMES II. Comprehending a Full and Impartial Account of the Steps taken to bring about the REVOLUTION ; with the Debates in the *Convention-Parliament* concerning the ABDICATION and VACANCY of the THRONE, and *Remarks* upon them.

---

## L O N D O N :

Printed for THO. WOTTON, at the *Three Daggers* and *Queen's-Head*, against St. Dunstan's Church ; J. SHUCKBURGH, near the *Inner-Temple-Gate* ; both in *Fleet-Street* : T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*. M DCC XXXIV.

1894



THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THE  
Twenty-Third VOLUME.

---

CHAP. I.



THE Trials of the Jesuits,  
the Lord Stafford, and  
others, for the Popish Plot,  
and Godfrey's Murder.

Page 3, 53, 60, 77, 85, 90

The Debates in Parliament concerning the  
Exclusion of the Duke of York from  
the

35481

# The CONTENTS.

*the Crown, and the Expedients proposed in the room of it, with the various Practices of the Faction, to destroy the Duke* 41, 43, 47, 62, 72, 79, 84, to 101

*The Rebellion of the Scots, and the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews* 48, 52, 120

*The Practices of the Duke of Monmouth and the Lord Shaftsbury against the Government* 62, 67, 75, 97, 113, 124, 137, 139, 143, 182

*The Disputes between the Court and the Parliament, and between the Two Houses of Parliament, concerning their Jurisdiction and Privileges* 45, 47, 69, 77, 82, to 104

*The Rye-house Plot, to assassinate King Charles II. and the Duke of York, and raise a Rebellion against the Government; with the Trials of the Conspirators* 142, 148, 151, 155, 171, 178, 185, 192, 194

*The*

# The CONTENTS.

*The Character of King Charles II.* 209

*The Statutes made in the Reign of King Charles II.* 224

---

## CHAP. II.

*The Accession of King James II.* 237

*Argyle's and Monmouth's Rebellions*  
249, 256

*The Trials of the Rebels in the West of England before the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries and other Judges* 275

*Debates in Parliament concerning Standing Armies in this Reign* 283

*King James's Attempts to establish Popery and Arbitrary Power in the Three Kingdoms; and the brave Opposition made to those Attempts by the Church of England* 282 to  
299, 302 to 308

*The*



# The CONTENTS.

*The Steps taken to bring about the  
Revolution* 338 to 393

*Debates in the Convention Parliament,  
on the Abdication and Vacancy of the  
Throne* 394

*The Character of King James II* 435

*The Statutes made in the Reign* 444



THE





CUT of King JAMES II.  
To face Page 237.







T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
E N G L A N D.

---

C H A P. I.

*Continuation of the Reign of CHARLES II.*



On the third of *December*, the *A.D. 1678*  
same Day *Coleman* was execu-  
ted, the King issued a Procla-  
mation, (in Pursuance of an  
Address of the Lords) offer-  
ing a Reward of Two hun-  
dred Pounds and a Pardon to any one, who  
should make a farther Discovery of the late  
horrid Design against his Majesty's Sacred  
Person and Government, which gave such  
Encouragement to *Oates* and *Bedloe*, that they  
proceeded to charge the Queen herself, before  
the Privy Council, as an Accomplice in the  
Plot: *Bedloe* deposed, That about the latter

*30 Car. II.*

A Reward  
of Two  
hundred  
Pounds of-  
fered for a  
further Dis-  
covery of  
the Plot.

*Oates* and  
*Bedloe* ac-  
cuse the  
Queen.

*A.D.* 1678 End of *April*, 1677, there was a Consultation held in the Chappel-Gallery of *Somerset-House*, where were present the Lord *Bellasis*, Mr: *Coleman*, *Le Phaire*, *Pritchard*, *Latham*, and *Sheldon*, (Priests) and two *Frenchmen*, whom he took to be Abbots, with the Queen, and several others whose Faces he did not see; and that *Coleman* and *Pritchard* told the Deponent, after the Consultation was over, that the Queen wept at what was proposed, but was over-persuaded to consent by the two *Frenchmen*. To support this Evidence, *Oates* deposed, That in the Month of *July* the present Year 1678, Sir *George Wakeman*, in a Letter to *Assby* the Jesuit, wrote, That the Queen would assist him to poison the King: That a few Days after, Father *Harcourt* and four other Jesuits went to attend the Queen at *Somerset-House* on her sending for them: That after they were gone into a Chamber, the Deponent waited without, and heard a Woman say, that she would no longer endure the Violations of her Bed; and that she would assist Sir *George Wakeman* in poisoning the King; that he was afterwards admitted into the Room, and saw no other Woman but the Queen; and heard, while he was within, the same Voice ask Father *Harcourt*, If he had received the last thousand Pounds?

The Commons Address for securing all Papists.

This Evidence, how improbable soever, had such an Effect on the House of Commons, that they address'd his Majesty, that the Queen, and all her Family, and all Papists, and reputed Papists, should be forthwith removed from *Whitehall*; and immediately after resolved to address his Majesty, That all Papists, and suspected Papists, in *England* and *Wales*, might be apprehended and secured.

But

But the King was so incensed at the Evidence *Oates* had given against the Queen, that he order'd a stricter Guard to be kept upon him: On the other Hand, the Commons agreed upon an Address that *Oates* might be freed from that Restraint, be attended by his own Servants, and a competent Allowance made him for his Maintenance: They also took the Tryal of the Popish Lords out of the usual Way, and proceeded to impeach them, (*viz.*) the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and the Lord Viscount *Stafford*, but no Articles were exhibited against them during that Parliament.

A.D. 1678

30 Car. II.

The King incensed at *Oates's* Evidence against the Queen.

The Popish Lords Impeach-  
ed.

The five Jesuits, who had been apprehended (*Viz.*) *William Ireland*, *Thomas Pickering*, *John Grove*, *Thomas Whitebread*, and *John Fenwick*, being brought to their Trials, as Accomplices in the Plot, at the *Old-Baily*, on the 17th of December, *Oates* deposed, That in December 1677, the said *Whitebread* was made Provincial of the Jesuits, and that he order'd *Conyers* a Jesuit to preach at *St. Omers* on *St. Thomas a Becket's Day*, when the Preacher inveigh'd against the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as Antichristian and Devilish: And that in January, *Whitebread* wrote Letters to *Father Ashby*, acquainting him with the Design of killing the King: And that he summon'd the Jesuits to appear at a Consult, to be held at *London* the 24th of April; upon which nine of them went over from *St. Omers*, among whom was *Sir Thomas Preston*, *Mr. Williams*, *Mr. March*, *Sir John Warner*, and the Depo-  
nent; and they accordingly met the 24th of April at the *White Horse Tavern* in the Strand, and subdivided themselves into several Companies; and *Mico*, Secretary to the

The five Jesuits tri-  
ed.

*Oates's* E-  
vidence a-  
gainst  
them.



A.D. 1678

30 Car. II.

Society, drew up this Resolve, viz. *That Pickering and Grove should go on in their Attempt to kill the King: That Grove should have Fifteen Hundred Pounds, and Pickering Thirty Thousand Masses as a Reward: That Whitebread sign'd this Resolve at his Chamber, and Ireland and Fenwick sign'd it at their respective Chambers, and the Deponent carried it from one Company to another, and saw them sign it, at least forty of them. Soon after the Deponent return'd to St. Omers, and Whitebread commanded him to England again, to kill Dr. Tongue, who had translated the Jesuit's Morals: That when he was in London, Ashby, a Jesuit, came from St. Omers, and brought Instructions from Whitebread to offer Sir George Wakeman Ten thousand Pounds to poison the King; and that they should procure the Bishop of Hereford, and Dr. Stillingfleet to be murder'd; and that Pickering and Grove should still go on with their Design of killing the King: That Sir George Wakeman refusing the Ten Thousand Pounds, Whitebread order'd them to offer him Five Thousand more, which he accepted, and Five Thousand Pounds of it was paid him by Mr. Coleman, or his Order: That in August following, there was another Consult, at which Mr. Ireland and the rest were present, and four Russians were at that Time provided to kill the King, and fourscore Pounds sent after them to Windsor the next Day, and Mr. Coleman gave the Messenger a Guinea to use Expedition. That the same Month Whitebread sent other Instructions to foment a Rebellion in Scotland, and Harcourt sent down Moor and Sanders thither to preach in the Field-Conventicles, and shew them the*

Danger



Danger they were in from Episcopal Tyranny. He depos'd also, that he saw *Pickering* and *Grove* waiting in the Park, several times in the Months of *May* and *June*, with their screw'd Pistols, to kill the King, and that they had Silver Bullets: That in *March* last, *Pickering* follow'd the King, but durst not fire, the Flint of his Pistol being loose, for which he underwent a Penance: That *Pickering* and *Grove* sign'd the Resolution to kill the King, and *Whitebread* gave them all the Oath of Secresy.

A.D 1678

30 Car. II.

He depos'd also, That *Whitebread* had sign'd several Hundreds of Military Commissions, and one particularly to Sir *John Gage*, of *Suffex*, which the Deponent deliver'd himself.

*Bedloe's*  
Evidence.

It being demanded of *Oates*, if he could produce any two Witnesses that saw him at *London* in *April*, when he said the Consult was held, he said, that he lay at *Grove's* House, but did not pretend to bring any one Witness to prove he was in *England*.

*Bedloe* depos'd, That he was five Years Lieutenant in *Flanders*, and was afterwards employ'd by the Jesuits and *English* Monks at *Paris*, to carry Letters to and from *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*: That the latter End of *August*, he was at *Harcourt's* Chamber with *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*, with some others, and there it was resolv'd, That since the *Russians* had been disappointed at *Windsor*, *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on, and *Conyers* be join'd with them, and they should murder the King at *Newmarket*; but as to *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, he said, he could depose nothing of his own Knowledge. He depos'd also, That the

*A.D.* 1678. the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Offory*, and the Duke of *Ormond* were to be kill'd.

*30 Car. II.*  
 The Jury discharg'd two of them for want of Evidence. There appearing but one Witness against *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, and the Law requiring two in Cases of Treason, the Chief Justice order'd the Jury to be discharg'd of them, 'till further Evidence should appear against them.

The Defence of the other three. *Ireland* in his Defence prov'd by several Witnesses, That he went into *Staffordshire* the third of *August*, where he remain'd 'till the Beginning of *September*. He declar'd also, That he had abundance of other Witnesses, but that he was not allow'd Pen, Ink, or Paper, nor had any Means to bring them in; and those Witnesses that did appear, were checkt, and roughly us'd by the Court.

*Grove* and *Pickering* complain'd they had no Opportunity of sending for their Witnesses, and utterly denied every Thing that *Oates* had sworn against them.

The Chief Justice directs the Jury to find three of them Guilty. The Chief Justice, in summing up the Evidence, told the Jury, That tho' *Oates* and *Bedloe* might be mistaken in Point of Time, and *Ireland* be out of Town in *August*, yet that did not entirely destroy their Testimony; the Substance of their Evidence might be true, tho' they had sworn falsely in this Circumstance; That he thought it impossible for any Man to frame such a Story as the King's Witnesses had told, and for any one to disbelieve it when it was told: Nor was it, he said, at all difficult to believe, that the Priests, who had debauch'd Men's Understandings, overturn'd all Morals, and destroy'd all Divinity, were engag'd in such a Design; whose Humility was such, that they trod upon

on the Necks of Emperors; their Charity such, as to kill Princes, and their Vow of Poverty such as to covet Kingdoms: That they had render'd all Converse with them impracticable, for they knew no Sin but what might be indulged, no Offence too big for a Pardon, and the blackest often accounted meritorious: Adding, That if Sacraments could not bind them, what Obligations or Covenants between Man and Man could? After he had inveigh'd very severely against the Principles and Practices of the *Papists*, he concluded, That the Matter was as plain and notorious as could be, that there was an Intention of bringing in Popery by a cruel and bloody Way; and accordingly the Jury found *Ireland, Pickering, and Grove* Guilty. The Chief Justice pass'd Sentence upon them as Traitors.

A.D. 1678:  
30 Car. II.  
~~~~~

*Ireland,  
Pickering,  
and Grove*  
condemn'd

The King very much suspecting the Truth of the Evidence, *Oates* and *Bedloe* had given against the three who had been condemn'd, suspended their Executions; whereupon the Commons order'd the Recorder *Jeffreys* to attend them, and demanded why he had not issued his Warrant for their Execution. To which he answer'd, he had not receiv'd any Orders from the King for their Execution; and they were afterwards respited to the 24th of *January*, when *William Ireland*, and *John Grove*, suffer'd; but *Pickering* was repriev'd from Time to Time, 'till the ninth of *May*, the following Year, when he was also executed. It was upon the Evidence *Oates* gave at the Trials of these three Jesuits, that he was afterwards convicted of Perjury, by the Oaths of two and twenty Persons, who depos'd, that *Oates* was actually at *St. Omers*, at the Time

The King  
suspends  
their Execution,  
which the  
Commons  
disapprove

*Oates* prov-  
ed perjur'd  
in these  
Trials.

A.D. 1678. Time he swore he was at the Consult of *London*; and above forty more (several of them Protestants of good Reputation) depos'd that *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire* when *Oates* swore he was in *London*: And it seems the King was determin'd to have sav'd them, if the Parliament had not press'd for their Execution, and others represented that they were condemn'd by due Course of Law; and that it might hazard the Peace of the Nation, if the King should pardon them, when the People were so generally perswaded of their Guilt.

The Commons prosecute the Earl of *Danby*.

But the Commons do not appear to have been more disturb'd at the Plot itself, than at the Earl of *Danby's* keeping his Post of Lord Treasurer, and Prime Minister: He had succeeded the celebrated Cabal in the Administration, who were upon that Account, and many more, his Enemies; particularly *Shaftsbury*, and *Buckingham*, who endeavour'd the Ruin of this Minister, with no less Zeal than they endeavour'd to support the Credit of the Popish Plot. They were furnish'd with a Pretence for attacking him, by Mr. *Montague*, a Member of the Commons, who became also a Malecontent, and Enemy to the Earl about this Time, on account of his being refus'd the Post of Secretary of State.

*Montague's* Evidence against him.

*Montague* was Ambassador to the *French* Court, and appears to have been so much gain'd to the Interest of the Grand Monarch, as to become his Tool, to perswade his Master, King *Charles*, not to enter into an offensive War against *France*. In Consideration whereof, the *French* King offer'd his *British* Majesty great Sums of Money; and 'tis generally held, actually paid him some on that Account. But though King *Charles* refus'd



to enter into an offensive War upon a double *A.D. 1678.*  
 Account, *viz.* in Consideration of the Sums *30 Car. II.*  
 he received from *France*, and because he had  
 great Reason to suspect the Commons would  
 leave him in it, and not furnish him with  
 Supplies, unless he parted with a good Share  
 of his Prerogative; yet he appear'd deter-  
 min'd to assist the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniards*,  
 to defend themselves, and obtain such a Bar-  
 rier, or Frontier, for their Security in *Flanders*,  
 as they approv'd of. However, *Montague*  
 discovering to *Shaftsbury* and the Faction, that  
 Money had been offer'd, and paid by the  
 King of *France* to his *British* Majesty, to in-  
 duce him not to declare War against *France*,  
 and that with the Privy of the Earl of  
*Danby*, the Prime Minister; and the *French*  
 Ambassadors, *Barillon* and *Rouvigny*, confirm-  
 ing the Report, in order to create a Misun-  
 derstanding between the King and Parlia-  
 ment; the Commons thought they had suffi-  
 cient Grounds to ruin the Prime Minister;  
 and were contriving an Impeachment against  
 him, when they received a Message from  
 the King, That Mr. *Montague*, a Member  
 of their House, had held a Conference with  
 the Pope's Nuncio in *France* without his Or-  
 ders; and that he had given Directions there-  
 fore to seize his Papers: Which the Com-  
 mons, being well aware was done in order to  
 prevent *Montague's* producing the Earl of  
*Danby's* Letters, did not seem to approve:  
 And Mr. *Montague* taking that Opportunity  
 to acquaint the House, that he had several  
 Papers in his Custody, which he conceived  
 might tend very much to the Safety of his  
 Majesty and the Kingdoms, they sent a Com-  
 mittee immediately to bring Mr. *Montague's*

AD. 1678. Papers to the House, and thereupon pre-  
 sented the King's getting them into his  
 Hands: After which Mr. *Munaguc* produced  
 two Letters written to him by the Earl of  
*Darby* when he was at *Paris*, to confirm the  
 Information he had given them of the Earl's  
 treating with the *French* King.

3: Cap. II.  
 Munaguc  
 produces  
 two of the  
 Earl's Let-  
 ters.

The first of these Letters was dated from  
*London*, the 17th of *January*, 1677-8. in  
 which the Earl tells *Munaguc*, That the  
*French* Ambassadors had been with him, to  
 persuade the Prince of *Orange* to yield up  
*Tourney* to *France*. And in the Second, dated  
 the 13th of *March*, 1678, the Earl says, "In  
 case the Conditions of the Peace shall  
 be accepted, the King (of *England*) ex-  
 pects to have Six Millions of Livres a Year  
 for three Years; because it will probably  
 be two or three Years before the Parlia-  
 ment will be in Humour to give him any  
 Supplies, after the making a Peace with  
*France*; and the Ambassador here has al-  
 ways agreed to that Sum, though not for  
 so long a Time. If you find the Peace  
 will not be accepted, you are not to men-  
 tion the Money at all; and all possible  
 Care must be taken to have this whole  
 Negotiation as private as possible, for fear  
 of giving Offence at home; where for the  
 most part we hear in ten Days after of any  
 thing, that is communicated to the *French*  
 Minister." At the bottom, "This Letter  
 is written by my Order. C. R.

Articles  
 against the  
 Earl of  
*Darby*.

These Letters were no sooner read, but it  
 was resolved there was sufficient Matter of  
 Impeachment against *Thomas* Earl of *Darby*,  
 Lord Treasurer of *England*; and they pro-  
 ceeded to draw up Articles against him,  
 charging



charging him with encroaching on the Regal Power, by treating of Matters of Peace and War, and giving Instructions to Ambassadors abroad, without communicating the same to the rest of the Council: That, in order to introduce Arbitrary Power, he designed to raise an Army, under pretence of a War with *France*; and then to continue the same within this Kingdom: That an Army being raised accordingly, and no War ensuing, an Act passed to disband it; but he continued the Army contrary to the said Act, and misapplied the Money to the Continuance thereof: That, intending to alienate the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects, and to hinder the Meeting of Parliaments, he negotiated a Peace with the *French King*, upon disadvantageous Terms to the Nation; for the doing whereof he endeavoured to procure a great Sum of Money of the *French King*, for enabling him to carry on his said traiterous Designs: That he was popishly affected, and concealed the late Plot, and suppressed and discountenanced the Evidence; and that he had wasted the Publick Treasure, and procured Grants to himself of the Inheritance and Revenues of the Crown.

The Treasurer, 'tis said, was about to produce all *Montague's* Letters for his Justification; but upon second Thoughts only sent two of them to the House of Commons: In one of which, dated the 11th of *January*, 1677-8. *Montague* tells the Treasurer, That the Reason the *French King* had sent young *Rouvigny* to *England*, was on account of the Friendship he had with Mr. *William Russell* (Lord *Russell*, who afterwards carried up the Bill of Exclusion): That *Rouvigny* was to be

A.D. 1678.

30 Car. II.

The Earl produces two of *Montague's* Letters.

A.D. 1678. introduced to the malecontented Members  
 30 Car. II. of Parliament, and to insinuate what they  
 should think fit to cross the Measures of  
 the Court; while Monsieur *Barillon* went on  
 in his smooth, civil way. The second Letter  
 was dated from *Paris* the 18th of *January*,  
 1677-8. wherein *Montague* says, “ *Rouvigny’s*  
 “ chief Errand is, to let the King of *Eng-*  
 “ *land* know, that the King of *France* hoped  
 “ he was so firm to him, as not to be led  
 “ away by the Grand Treasurer (*Danby*) who  
 “ was an ambitious Man, and to keep fair  
 “ with the People, would gratify their In-  
 “ clinations, by leading his Majesty into an  
 “ unreasonable War with *France*: That as  
 “ for Money, if he wanted that, he should  
 “ have what he would from hence (the *French*  
 “ Court.) And if this did not take, *Rou-*  
 “ *vigny’s* Instructions were, By the Assistance  
 “ of *William Russell*, and other discontented  
 “ People, to give a great deal of Money,  
 “ and cross all the Measures of the Court  
 “ of *England*.—Adding, That old *Rouvigny*,  
 “ who valued himself on knowing *England*,  
 “ had laid it down as a Maxim, That *France*  
 “ must diminish the Treasurer’s Credit, be-  
 “ fore they could do any Good: But (says  
 “ *Montague*) Since their chief Quarrel to  
 “ you is the being so just to your Master’s  
 “ Interest, I am sure he is too just to let  
 “ them do you any Hurt. If the King is  
 “ for War, you know what to do: If he  
 “ hearkens to their Money, be pleased to  
 “ let me know what they offer, and I dare  
 “ answer to get our Master as much again;  
 “ for *Barillon’s* Orders are, to make the  
 “ Market as low as he can.

These

These Letters appearing to bear very hard A.D. 1678.  
on the Malecontents in the House of Com-  
mons, and particularly on their Friend *Mon-*  
*tague*, they would not suffer them to be read  
openly; but having perfected their Impeach-  
ment against the Earl in two Days, sent it  
up to the Lords by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother  
to the Earl of *Essex*: On the reading where-  
of the Earl made a Speech in his Vindica-  
tion; wherein he observes, That as to his  
assuming Regal Power, he had never done  
any thing of Moment, either at home, or re-  
lating to foreign Affairs, for which he had  
not always had his Majesty's Command:  
That the Army was no more raised by him  
than by every Lord in that House; and in  
the Station he was, he must have been a Fool  
to desire any thing that created a Want of  
Money, as the raising an Army must: That  
he was so far from concealing the Plot, that  
it had been owned at the Bar of the House  
of Commons, that the Witnesses had received  
all manner of Encouragement and Dispatch  
from him; and had declared before the Coun-  
cil, that more would have been discovered,  
if it had been longer kept private: That if  
he (the Earl) had not seized *Coleman's* Papers,  
none of them had appeared, and they had  
wanted the most material Evidence of the  
Plot; so far was he from having concealed  
it: That, as to his being popishly affected,  
the contrary was so well known, that some  
of those who voted against him had acknow-  
ledged the Falsity of that Allegation: That,  
as to wasting the Publick Treasure, he knew  
of no Treasure in his Time to waste; for  
none had been given in six Years, which had  
not been appropriated to particular Uses, and  
strictly

*30 Car. II.*

The Earl's  
Defence.

A.D. 1678. strictly applied by him as the Acts directed ;  
 30 Car. II. and there had not been one of those Aids,  
 which, instead of giving the King Money,  
 had not cost him more out of his own Purse  
 to the same Uses, as appeared by the larger  
 Dimensions of the new Ships, and other Ar-  
 ticles; insomuch that he had the Vanity to  
 say, That, by the Payments he had made to  
 the Navy and Seamen beyond former Times;  
 by paying the greatest part of the Debt  
 which was stopped in the Exchequer before  
 his Time; and other things, for which he had  
 his Vouchers, his Conduct would appear me-  
 ritorious, rather than criminal: And lastly,  
 as to his great Gains, they were not half  
 what was represented; that others in lesser  
 Places had got as much again in half the  
 Time; and if that Matter were enquired in-  
 to, as he desired it might, they would see  
 Cause to arraign his Prudence, in not having  
 done for his Family what he justly might; but  
 nothing that could reflect on his Reason or  
 Conscience, or his faithful Service to the  
 Crown: And, if his Obedience to the King  
 was not his Crime, he thought nothing else  
 would stick upon him which the Articles con-  
 tained.

That had he been either a Papist, or a  
 Friend to the *French*, he had not been now  
 accused: He had Reason to believe the prin-  
 cipal Informer (*Montague*) had been assisted  
 with *French* Advice in this Accusation; and  
 if he were so just as to produce all he knew  
 of him, as he was malicious in shewing what  
 might be liable to misconstruction against him,  
 or rather against the King (as indeed it was)  
 no Man could vindicate him more than him-  
 self, under whose Hand he had shewn how  
 great



great an Enemy he was thought to *France*, *A.D. 1678.*  
 how much he might have had, to have been  
 otherwise, and what he himself (*Montague*) *30 Car. II.*  
 might have had for getting him to take it;  
 But he did not wonder this Gentleman would  
 do him no Right, when he did not think fit  
 to do it to his Majesty, upon whom chiefly  
 this Matter must reflect; though he knew it  
 would appear under his Hand, that the great-  
 est Invitations to his Majesty to take Money  
 from *France* were made by himself (*Montague*):  
 That if his Majesty would have been tempted  
 for Money, he might have sold Towns for as  
 much as if they had been his own; but he  
 always scorned to yield the meanest Village  
 that was not agreed to by the *Spaniard* and  
*Hollander*: Concluding, That ever since he  
 had the Honour to serve his Majesty, he had  
 delivered it as his constant Opinion, That  
*France* was the worst Interest he could em-  
 brace; they were the Nation in the World  
 from whom he ought to apprehend the great-  
 est Danger, and who had both his Person and  
 Government under the last Degree of Con-  
 tempt.

But notwithstanding the Letters the Earl  
 had produced, and the full Defence he made  
 of his Innocence, the Commons appeared de-  
 termined to prosecute him: Whereupon the  
 King came to the House the 30th of *January*, *The Parlia-*  
 and prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of *February*: *ment pro-*  
 At which time he made a short *rogued.*  
 Speech, telling them, That he had not been *The King's*  
 well used: However, he should immediately *Speech.*  
 enter upon disbanding the Army, continue  
 to prosecute the Discovery of the Popish Plot,  
 and take all possible Care for the securing the  
 Protestant Religion as it was established by  
 Law.

*A.D.* 1678. Law. Thus ended this eighteenth and last Sessions of the Long Parliament, without granting any Money: For though the Commons had passed a Bill for disbanding the Army; yet having inserted a Clause for paying the Money into the Chamber of *London*, the Lords rejected it; and the Soldiers being recalled from *Flanders* in the Depth of Winter, many of them perished for want of Necessaries, or the Inclemency of the Season.

Soon after the Parliament was up, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, who had incurred the Displeasure of the Commons, thought fit to resign his Post of Secretary of State; and was succeeded by the Right Honourable *Robert Earl of Sunderland*, who paid Sir *Joseph* 6,500 Guineas on his Resignation. This Post of Secretary had been promised to Sir *William Temple*, Ambassador in *Holland*; but either the Premium expected was too large, or for some other Reason, Sir *William* refused it, or missed of it: And as the Earl of *Danby* lay under an Impeachment of the House of Commons, though he was not committed, his Majesty thought fit to dismiss him from the Office of Lord High Treasurer, and put the Treasury in Commission; and thereupon constituted the Earl of *Essex*, the Honourable *Lawrence Hyde*, Brother to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and *Sidney Godolphin*, Esq; Commissioners of the Treasury. This Year the Earl of *Pembroke* was committed to the *Tower*, for abusing the Consecrated Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament in a most scandalous manner; but there being no other Evidence against him than the Lord *North's* Chaplain, and the Earl denying the Charge, on his Honour, before the

*Sunderland*  
made Secretary of  
State.

Earl of  
*Danby*  
turned out.  
The Treasury in  
Commission.

Earl of  
*Pembroke*  
committed  
for several  
Offences.



the House of Lords, he was dismiss'd. The <sup>A.D. 1678.</sup> Peers insisting, that a Lord could not be convicted on the single Testimony of a Commoner, he was again brought before his Peers, the same Year, on a Charge of Murder; but, being found guilty of Manslaughter only, he had the Benefit of his Peerage; a Peer not being under a Necessity of demanding the Benefit of his Clergy for the first Felony, as <sup>Has the Benefit of his Peerage.</sup> a Commoner is.

Another remarkable Trial this Year, was that of *Robert Foulkes*, Clerk, for the Murder of a Bastard Child he was the Father of, which he was convicted of, at the Sessions-House at the *Old Baily*, in *London*, and executed at *Tyburn*; to the great Scandal of his Brethren.

In the Beginning of the following Year, <sup>1678,</sup> viz. on *Sunday*, the 12th of *January*, the <sup>A dark</sup> Writers of these Times relate, It was so <sup>Sunday.</sup> dark at Eleven in the Forenoon, that there was no seeing to read in the Churches; nor could a Man know another in the Streets; that it exceeded even the Darkeness of a total Eclipse: But the dark Designs carried on by *Shaftsbury*, and his Faction, this Winter, were of much more mischievous Consequence. Their Business, it seems, was to find out, or make more Witnesses of the Plot, and *Godfrey's* Murder, which they procured, either by the Rewards they had prevail'd on the King to offer such Discoverers, or by the Punishments they threaten'd or inflicted on those who made a Difficulty of becoming Knights of the Post, to serve their Party.

When Justice *Godfrey* was first missing, a Rumour generally prevail'd, as has been intimated already, that he had been murder'd by the *Papists*; but the Place where, and the

A.D. 1678<sup>8</sup>. Manner how it was done, were variously related; some gave out, he was murder'd in *Arundel-House*; others, in the Cellar of the Lord *Bellasis*; and some affirm'd, that the Duke of *Norfolk's* Coach was seen to come from *Primrose-Hill*, the *Saturday Godfrey* went away: But at length, it was generally affirm'd, he was murder'd in that popish Palace of *Somerset-House*, where the Queen resided; probably to give the more Colour for the Report of her Majesty's being in the Plot.

*Shaftsbury*  
tortures  
several  
Men, to  
make them  
swear as  
he would  
have them.

*William Bromwell*, a labouring Man, and *John Walters*, a Blacksmith, who first found *Godfrey's* Gloves and Cane, and were the Occasion of the Body's being discover'd, were, about a Fortnight after, summon'd before a Committee of Parliament, that sat at *Wallingford-House*, and of which the Lord *Shaftsbury* was Chairman. Here *Shaftsbury* examin'd *Bromwell* and *Walters* very strictly, and threaten'd to commit them, if they did not discover who murder'd *Godfrey*; nor was he worse than his Word; for *Bromwell* was sent to *Newgate*, and *Walters* to the *Gatehouse*, where the latter was fetter'd and hand-cuffed, and kept in a Dungeon three Days and Nights. About ten Days after, *Bromwell* was sent for to the Committee again, when *Shaftsbury* charged him with being employ'd by some great *Roman Catholick*, to find out the Body of *Sir Edmond Godfrey*; and told the Prisoner, If any Man ever was hang'd, he should, if he did not discover it. After which, Major *Wildman* took the Prisoner aside, and ask'd him, Why he would not discover who set him to work? and assured him, if he would discover, he should have a Pardon, and five hundred Pounds Reward: To which *Bromley* answer'd,

answer'd, He had declared what he knew, *A.D. 1678.*  
 he could say no more, and would not accuse  
 any Man falsely: Whereupon the poor Man *30 Car. II.*  
 was sent back to *Newgate*, and no body suf-  
 fer'd to see him in nine Weeks Time; only his  
 Wife got Leave to visit him twice, by the  
 Permission of the Duke of *Bucks.* *Walters*  
 had better Usage for some Time, than his  
 Companion; for after he had undergone ano-  
 ther Examination, and been terribly threat-  
 en'd; when the Committee found they could  
 make nothing of him, he was order'd to be  
 dismiss'd.

*Shaftsbury's* Usage of *Mrs. Gibbons*, the  
 Wife of *Thomas Gibbons*, a Gentleman related  
 to *Godfrey*, also was very inhuman. This  
 Lady, it seems, sent a Paper to the Lords  
 Committees, appointed to enquire into the  
 Murder, by Sir *John Banks*, to shew that  
*Godfrey* was melancholy some Time before his  
 Death, in which she says, *That Justice God-*  
*frey came to her House, and appear'd much*  
*troubled, and out of Order, and ask'd if she had*  
*not heard he was to be hang'd; and asking him,*  
*For what? he reply'd, That having taken the*  
*Examination of Oates and Tongue, a Month be-*  
*fore, he had never discover'd the Plot they had*  
*swore to: And she demanding, What Plot? He*  
*said, Oates had foresworn himself, and it would*  
*come to nothing.*

*Mrs. Gibbons* being sent for before the  
 Committee to be examin'd concerning this  
 Paper, *Shaftsbury* gave her the following gen-  
 teel Salutation: *You damn'd Whore, what de-*  
*vilish Paper is this you have given us?* And then  
 giving her an Oath, to declare who wrote it,  
 call'd her Bitch, and other vile Names, and  
 threaten'd her, that if she would not confess

*A.D.* 1678<sup>8</sup>. Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur De Puy, set her to write this Paper, she would be torn in pieces by the Mob; nay, that she should be worried as the Dogs worried Cats; at which she was so frightened, that she fell into Fits: And of this she made Oath before the Secretary of State; declaring, that whether she lived or died, (for she was then very ill) it was every Syllable true, before God and his Holy Angels.

*Corral*  
tortured.

But no Man suffer'd more under *Shaftsbury's* merciless Hands, than poor *Frank Corral*, the Hackney Coachman. "He was taken up about a Fortnight after *Godfrey's* Body was found, on a Suggestion, that he had carried the Corps to *Primrose-Hill*, in his Coach; and being brought before the Committee at *Wallingsford-House*, and his Oath given him, to declare the Truth, *Shaftsbury* demanded, If he carry'd Justice *Godfrey* to *Primrose-Hill*, in his Coach, or knew who carried him? To which *Corral* answer'd, That he did not, and that he knew not who did. The Lord *Shaftsbury* said, That if he would swear the Truth, he should have five hundred Pounds, and laid down some Money on the Table, promising that he should have a Room near the Court, if he was afraid of any body that set him to work; and should command a File of Musqueteers to guard him, for fear that those that employ'd him should do him a Mischief. He ask'd, Who should those be, my Lord? No body set me at work, nor do I know for what I am brought hither. The Earl reply'd, We are Peers of the Land, and if thou wilt not confess, there shall be a Barrel of Nails provided



to put thee in, and roll thee down a Hill. *A.D. 1678.*  
 The Coachman answer'd, What would *30 Car. II.*  
 you have me say, my Lord? I know nothing  
 of the Matter; Would you have me accuse  
 other People, to bring them into my Con-  
 dition? Upon which his Lordship expressly  
 said, Then thou shalt die—The *Papists*  
 have hired him, and he will not confess:  
 And thereupon, a *Mittimus* was drawn,  
 and the poor Man committed to *Newgate*,  
 and laid in vast heavy Irons, and thrust into  
 a Dungeon; where, after he had continued  
 about three or four Hours, he was taken  
 out again, but so faint with the Closeness  
 and Nastiness of the Place, that he swoon'd  
 away, so that they gave him Brandy, to  
 keep him alive. About three in the Af-  
 ternoon, the same Day, he was carried to  
 a House in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, where the  
 Lord *Shaftsbury* said to him, Now, you  
 Rogue, here's one that will justify he saw  
 you; and speaking to a Person that stood  
 by, said, Did not you see him whip his  
 Horses, and go down by *Tottenham-Court*?  
 the Man replying, Yes, my Lord; his  
 Lordship cry'd, Sirrah, What's the Reason  
 you will not confess, but put us to all this  
 Trouble? The other hastily reply'd, What  
 would you have me confess? I know no  
 more than your Lordship does, and it may  
 be not so much. Then said the Lord  
*Shaftsbury*, If thou wilt not confess, *Ri-*  
*chardson*, take him away, and let him be  
 starved to Death; with which the poor  
 Man wept; Ah Rogue, (said the Earl,)  
 there's never a Tear comes down; upon  
 which, he, with Imprecations, told his  
 Lordship, That he knew no more than the  
 " Child

A.D. 1678.

30 Car. II.



“ Child that is unborn. That’s a popish  
 “ Word, reply’d my Lord, he has consulted  
 “ with the *Papists*, and will not confess; so  
 “ *Richardson* take him away, and let him be  
 “ starved to Death: Accordingly, he was  
 “ carried to *Newgate*, and kept in great Irons,  
 “ in the Condemn’d Hole, from *Thursday*  
 “ Evening to *Sunday* Noon, without any thing  
 “ to eat or drink, which put the poor Crea-  
 “ ture into such Despair, that he said, If his  
 “ Knife had not dropt out of his Hand, he  
 “ had kill’d himself.

“ On *Monday* Morning, the same Man  
 “ was carried to the House of Lords, and so  
 “ to the secret Committee, where he saw the  
 “ same Lords as before, and the Earl of  
 “ *Shaftsbury*, with a pleasing Countenance,  
 “ said, Come, thou look’st like an honest  
 “ Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou shalt  
 “ have the same Reward that was promised  
 “ thee at *Wallingford-House*, and then thou  
 “ shalt go presently home to thy Wife and  
 “ Children, and we will secure thee from any  
 “ Harm; What dost thou say to us all?  
 “ Now speak. Whereupon, the poor Man  
 “ fell down upon his Knees, and said, I know  
 “ nothing of it; and before I wrong any  
 “ Man, I will die immediately: The Lord  
 “ *Shaftsbury* changing his Tone, said, Thou  
 “ art a very peremptory Rogue, thou shalt  
 “ go back to *Newgate*, and rot there a while,  
 “ and thou shalt be brought to be try’d at  
 “ the Sessions, and then there will be enow  
 “ against thee, and thou shalt be hang’d;  
 “ hadst thou not better confess the Truth,  
 “ and have that Money, than be brought be-  
 “ fore the Judges, and be condemn’d to be  
 “ hang’d? It will be a dreadful Hearing for  
 “ thee:

thee : Yes, my Lord, (cry'd the other) I know it will be a dreadful Hearing ; but, my Lord, it will be a more dreadful Hearing for me at the Lord's Bar, if I should wrongfully accuse any Man ; it will be a more dreadful Hearing, when it shall be said, Take him away Devil, for he hath falsely accused those he knew no Harm by. Whereupon, the Lord *Shaftsbury* said, I see we can do no good with him, take him away, and let him lie there and rot. The poor Man pleaded, that he had a Wife and Children : The Lord *Shaftsbury* answer'd, Let his Wife and Children starve. In fine, the Coachman lay in the Condemn'd Hole, with heavy Irons, six Weeks and three Days ? and afterwards, seven Weeks on the Common Side, on Boards, without Irons. At length, when another swore, that Sir *Edmund's* Body was carried on Horseback, upon good Security, the Man was discharged ; but his Legs were so gall'd, and eaten up with the Irons, that he was not able to drive a Coach 'till eight Weeks after he had his Liberty.

*A D. 1678*  
*30 Car. II.*

*Miles Prance*, the Silver-Smith, proved more pliable than *Corral* ; at least, he appears not to have had so great a Degree of Fortitude. *Prance* was a *Papist*, and had work'd for the Queen's Chapel at *Somerset-House* ; which Circumstances alone were sufficient to convict him of being concern'd, either in the Murder, or the Plot, at that Time of Day, if there had been no other ; but he had this further Misfortune, that one *Wren*, a Lodger in his House, whose Goods *Prance* had seized for fourteen Months Arrears, in order to be revenged on his Landlord, made Oath before a Ma-

*Prance*  
forced to  
be an Evi-  
dence.

A.D. 1678<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub> a Magistrate, That there was Reason to suspect *Prance* was concern'd in *Godfrey's* Murder, for that he had lain out of his House several Nights, while the Body was missing : And what made him still more suspected, was his dealing with *Grove*, and entertaining *Pickering* and *Ireland*, the Jesuits, at his House ; insomuch, that *Wren* look'd upon himself as entitl'd to Part of the 500*l.* Reward, at least, for making this Discovery.

30 Car. II.

*Prance* being sent for, hereupon, to the House of Commons, and put into a little Room in that Lobby, till he should be call'd before them, several People had the Curiosity to come and view him there, and among others, *Bedloe*, the King's Witness, who having taken particular Notice of the Prisoner, went away. *Prance* was afterwards carried to an Eating-House in *Westminster*, call'd *Heaven*, by those who had him in Custody, and into a Room where Sir *William Waller*, and the Managers for the Faction, had placed the infamous *Bedloe*. After *Prance* had been in the Room a little Time, *Bedloe* started up, and cry'd out, *That is one of the Rogues I saw with a dark Lanthorn, about the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, but he was then in a Peruke :* And when *Prance* was afterwards brought before the Lords Committees, *Bedloe* charged him directly with the Murder, which *Wren* confirm'd by swearing, That *Prance* lay out of his House at that Time.

*Prance*, on the contrary, deny'd he knew any thing of the Murder, or had ever seen *Bedloe* before that Day ; and objected to the Testimony of *Wren*, because he had sworn to be revenged of him ; and said, he never wore a Wig in his Life, though he acknowledged,



ledged that he had wrought in his Trade for *Grove, Pickering, and Ireland*; and wished he might be damned if he knew any thing either of the Plot, or the Murder: Whereupon he was sent to *Newgate*, loaden with heavy Irons, and put into the *Condemned Hole*; where he lay all Night. Early the next Morning an unknown Person came in, and having laid down a Paper on a Form by him, retired; and immediately came in another Man with a Candle, whereby he read the Paper, which contained the following Minutes; *So many Popish Lords, mentioned by Name — Fifty thousand Men to be raised — Commissions given out — Officers appointed — Ireland acquainted with the Design —* An Abstract of *Bedloe's Evidence* also was contained in the same Paper; and concluded with these Words, *You had better confess than be hanged.* *Prance*, being overcome with Cold, and the Stench of the Place he was in, and looking upon his Death to be determined if he did not comply with this Intimation, desired to be carried to my Lord *Shaftsbury*; and accordingly being brought before that Lord, and two or three more, he was strictly examined upon the Articles contained in the Paper: It was also suggested to him, that there were great Persons concerned in the Plot, and they expected he should discover them; *Shaftsbury mentioned the Queen and the Duke of York in particular, and bid the Prisoner not spare even the King himself*; as *Prance* afterwards deposed: They gave him to understand also, that his Evidence must agree with *Bedloe's*, and particularly in that Circumstance of the Body's being laid under the Altar. *Prance* then pretended to make some Discoveries, and promised



A.D. 1679<sup>8</sup> mised more; whereupon a Paper was brought him to sign, as containing his Examination; after which he was remanded to *Newgate*.

31 Car. II.

*Prance* having promised to make further Discoveries, if he might have the King's Pardon, the Lords procured a Pardon for him; and a Committee from each House was ordered to take his further Examination in *Newgate*, and not suffer any other Persons to be present at it: Here the Prisoner made a Confession so much to their Satisfaction, that it was thought fit he should repeat and confirm it before the King and Council: And accordingly at that Board he charged five Persons with being present at *Godfrey's* Murder; viz. the Fathers *Girald* and *Kelly*, two Irish Priests, *Robert Green*, Cushion-Bearer to the Queen's Chapel, *Lawrence Hill*, Servant to Dr. *Godden*, Treasurer of her Chapel, and *Henry Berry*, Porter to *Somerset-House*; and being very particular as to the Time, Place, and other Circumstances, the King ordered the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Ossory*, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, to go to *Somerset-House*, and take *Prance's* Examination upon the Spot; which was done accordingly: But he appeared so doubtful as to the principal Room he had mentioned, and some other Circumstances, that the Lord *Ossory* declared, *It was all a Cheat*.

The Council sitting again in the Afternoon, *Prance* was confronted with *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, three of the Persons he had accused; who denied every Tittle of the Charge, while *Prance* still continued to maintain it; after which they were all remanded to Prison. On the 29th of *December*, *Prance* was ordered to be brought before the Council again; but

before

before he appeared at the Board, he desired to speak with the King in private; and thereupon *Richardson*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, was ordered to carry his Prisoner to Mr. *Chiffinch's* Lodgings in *Whitehall*, whither his Majesty came, and took *Prance* into a private Room; where he had not been long with the King, but his Majesty opened the Door, and ordered *Chiffinch* and the Jaylor to come in; which they did, and found *Prance* upon his Knees; and the King bidding him speak out, *Prance* declared, 'That the Men he had sworn against were all innocent; and that all he had sworn against them was false: Whereupon the King said, *Upon your Salvation is it so? And he replied, Upon my Salvation the whole Accusation is false: And being carried before the Council,* he confirmed what he had said to the King; adding, he only knew the Men he had sworn against; that he never saw *Bedloe* before he was taken up; that he knew nothing of the Plot, or the Murther, and could not rest for the Story he had told; that *Wren* owed him Money, and threatened him because he dunned him for it, and so hared him into it.

A.D. 1678

31 Car. II.

*Prance retracts his Evidence before the King and Council.*

*Prance* being brought before the King and Council again next Day, persisted in it, That he knew nothing of the Plot or Murder; and declared that he had no other Hints to frame that Story by, than he took from the Paper of Instructions that was laid by him in the Condemned Hole in *Newgate*: Whereupon he was sent to Prison again, put into the Condemned Hole, loaded with Irons, and used in that barbarous Manner, that he roared and cried out perpetually, as one upon the Rack: Whereupon his Tormentors gave out he was mad. The poor Man endured

He is tortured, to make him return to his former Evidence.

*A.D.* 167<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub> these Tortures, however, for nine or ten Days; but not being able to hold out longer, he promised, if they would ease him of his Pain, to return to his former Evidence: Whereupon his Irons were knocked off, and he was carried from the loathsome Dungeon he was in to a good Room and Bed, and accommodated with good Provisions, and whatever else he desired; and here he completed his written Narrative of the Murder with which he had charged *Green, Bury, Hill, &c.*

The Long  
Parliament, that  
sat 18  
Years, dissolved.

In the mean time the King, observing the Power of the Faction in Parliament, and the Encouragement they gave to the Plot-Discoverers, in order to distress his Affairs, and oblige him to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Succession, as well as the Inclination they had shewn to expose his Administration, by bringing the Earl of *Danby* to his Trial; thought fit to dissolve this Long Parliament on the 25th of *January*, after it had sat near eighteen Years; but declared at the same time, That he would cause Writs to be issued for the assembling another Parliament on the 6th of *March*; which was done accordingly: And while the People were busy in electing

The Trials  
of *Green, Bury, and Hill*, for  
*Godfrey's*  
Murder.

*Oates's*  
Evidence.

their Representatives in the Country, *Green, Bury, and Hill*, the supposed Murderers of Justice *Godfrey*, were brought to their Trials at the King's-Bench Bar; where *Oates* was produced as an Evidence against them, and deposed, That upon the 6th of *September* last he gave in several Depositions upon Oath, containing a Narrative of the Plot, before Justice *Godfrey*; and having taken two or three Copies, he went before *Godfrey* again on the 28th of *September*, and swore all the

Copies

Copies he had made; and after this he went with his Narrative before the Council; That *Godfrey* told him, that some great Persons thought he had been too zealous in this Business, and others that he had been too remiss; and that he was threatened on both sides, and went in Fear of his Life from the Popish Party, and observed he had been dogged for several Days; but he should not fear them, if they came fairly. Prothonotary *Robinson* deposed to the same Effect; adding, That *Godfrey* said, upon his Conscience he should be the first Martyr.

A.D. 1678

31 Car. II.

*Prance* deposed, That two Priests engaged him to be concerned in the Murder of *Godfrey*, and told him it was no Sin, for he was a busy Man, and would do a great deal of Mischiefe; that they sent to *Godfrey's* House to know when he went out, and had dogged him several times; and particularly on the Saturday Morning he was missing they watched him into St. *Clement's*, and about Eight or Nine o'Clock in the Evening *Hill* gave them Notice to be ready, for *Godfrey* was coming by the Water-Gate at *Somerset-House*; that *Hill* went to him, and told him there were two Men quarrelling, and desired him to come down and part them; which, with much Persuasion, he consented to do; and being come down as far as the Bottom of the Rails, *Green* twisted his Handkerchief, and put it about *Godfrey's* Neck, and threw him behind the Rails, and there choaked him: About a Quarter of an Hour after, *Prance* observed that he was not dead; and *Green* wrung his Neck quite round, and punched him with his Knee. *Prance* deposed also, That he stood at the Water-Gate when it was done, and *Berry* watched the Stairs; that

*Prance's*  
Evidence.



*AD.1679* that the Deponent saw *Hill, Green, Gerald,* and *Kelly*, about the Body when he came from the Gate; and a while after *Berry* came, and they all helped to carry him into *Hill's* Room in *Dr. Godden's* House; where the Corps lay till *Monday* Night, and then it was removed into *Somerſet-Houſe*, where *Hill* ſhewed it the Deponent with a Dark Lanthorn, but he could not deſcribe the Room: On *Tueſday* it was carried to *Hill's* Chamber again; but ſomebody being there, they carried it to Sir *John Arundel's* Lodgings over againſt it; where it lay till *Wedneſday* Night; when they removed it to the Room where it firſt lay, and about Twelve carried it away in a Sedan through the great Gate of the upper Court; and when they came to *Soho*, *Hill* met them with a Horſe, and ſet the Body upon it, and rid behind it; and the next Morning *Prance* met *Hill*, and they told him, they had run him through with his own Sword, and thrown him into a Ditch, and laid his Gloves and other Things upon the Bank.

The Priſoners objecting, That *Prance* was perjured, becauſe he denied what he had ſworn againſt them before the Council, the Keeper of *Newgate* was called; who depoſed, That *Prance* did indeed confeſs, as well before the King in his Cloſet, as before the Council, That all he had ſworn againſt the Priſoners was falſe, and that they were all innocent: And *Richardſon* being asked, if any body had been tampering with him, he answered, No; but they were no ſooner returned to the Priſon again, than *Prance* ſaid, all he had ſworn was Truth; and it was only Fear of loſing his Trade, and being murdered by the Papiſts, which made him recant.

*Bedloe* depofed, That the Priests had foli-  
cited him to murder a Gentleman about the  
latter end of *September*, but did not tell him  
who it was, but directed him to infinuate  
himself into *Godfrey's* Acquaintance; which  
he did accordingly: They told him also, That  
there was a material Man to be put out of the  
way that Night he was murdered, who had  
all the Informations that *Oates* and *Tongue* had  
given in; that they had made feveral At-  
tempts on him, which had failed; and if he  
should not be taken out of the way, and the  
Papers taken from him, they must wait an Age  
before they could effect their Design; that  
he promised to assist in it, but demanded  
where the four thousand Pounds were which  
had been promised, and was told the Lord  
*Bellasis* was engaged for it, and Mr. *Coleman*  
had Orders to pay it. *Bedloe* further depofed,  
That he met the Priest who would have em-  
ployed him to murder the Gentleman on the  
*Monday* Night, after it was done, in *Somer-*  
*set-House* Cloisters, who reproved him for not  
coming to assist them; but said, if he would  
help to carry him off, he should have half  
the Reward; and he was carried into a Room,  
where they shewed him the Body by a small  
Light, and he knew it, and saw a Cravat  
about his Neck; and he advised them to tie  
Weights to his Head and Feet, and sink him  
in the River; but they told him they would  
put it upon himself: That they administered  
the Sacrament to the Deponent twice a Week  
afterwards, to conceal the Matter. The De-  
ponent went down to *Bristol* afterwards; where  
he was so restless and disturbed in his Mind,  
that he could not help making the Disco-  
very.

A.D. 1678<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>

31 Car. II.



The Surgeon, who viewed *Godfrey's* Body after it was found, depofed, That he had one Wound in his Body which ftopped at a Rib, and another that went through his Heart; but he did not think he was killed by it, becaufe there was no Evacuation of Blood; and his Neck was fo diftorted, that they might have taken the Chin and fet it upon either Shoulder. *Brown*, who found the Body, alfo depofed, That there was no Blood in the Ditch, nor none followed the Sword when it was taken out; and that his Breafth looked black, and he fupposed his Neck was broke, for it was fo weak that his Head might be turned upon either Shoulder; and he had a great deal of Gold and Silver in his Pockets.

The Pri-  
soners De-  
fence.

The Prifoners in their Defence proved, That *Hill* ufed to come in at good Hours every Night; and particularly he was at home at Eight o'Clock that Night *Godfrey* was mifling: Others fwore, That they were in *Hill's* Room, where the Body was faid to be laid, every Day, and muft have feen it if it had been there; and that they faw nothing of it. The Corporal and Centinels at *Somerfet-Houfe* depofed, That no Sedan went out that Night the Body was faid to be carried away.

The Chief Juftice, in fumming up the Evidence, gave the Evidence for the King at leaft its full Weight, and told the Jury, That this Gentleman had been murdered, either becaufe he knew fomething the Priests would not have him tell, or they did it in Defiance of Juftice, and to terrify all thofe who dare execute it upon them; and directed them to give a Verdict againft the Prifoners.

The Chief Juftice's Directions to find the Prifoners guilty, were not only followed by the

the Jury, but the People in the Hall gave a general Shout when he delivered his Opinion of their Guilt, as for a notable Victory. Judge *Wild* passed Sentence upon them the next Day; in pursuance whereof *Lawrence Hill* and *Robert Green* were executed at *Tyburn* the 21st of *February*: *Henry Berry*, who was looked upon as a Protestant, was reprieved a few Days longer, in hopes of a further Discovery; but he, as well as the rest, persisted to the last in denying they knew any thing either of the Murder, or the Plot.

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

They are convicted, and executed.

And now the Time for the Meeting of the Parliament approaching, his Majesty thought fit to direct their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Dutchess of *Tork*, to go beyond Sea; believing that the Duke's Absence might quiet the Minds of the People, and they would be induced on his Removal to drop their Design of excluding him from the Succession: And accordingly their Royal Highnesses embarked on the 3d of *March*, and arrived in *Holland* the 12th; from whence they removed to *Brussels* in *Flanders*, and remained there most part of the Summer.

The Duke of *Tork* sent beyond Sea.

The Parliament meeting (in pursuance of their Summons) the 6th of *March*, was opened with a Speech from the Throne; wherein his Majesty declared, That he met them with the most earnest Desire a Man could have to unite the Minds of all his Subjects to himself, and to one another; that, to this end, he had done many great Things already; as the Exclusion of the Papists from Parliament, the Execution of the Plotters, and the Murderers of Justice *Godfrey*; and it was apparent he had not been idle in the Discovery of both; that he had also disbanded as much

The King's Speech to the new Parliament;



A.D. 1678<sup>s</sup>.

31 Car. II.



of the Army as he had Money for, and was ready to disband the rest, so soon as they should reimburse him the Money they had cost him, and would enable him to pay off the Remainder; but above all, he had caused his Brother to absent himself, because he would not leave malicious Men room to say, he had not removed all Causes which could be pretended to influence him towards popish Counsels; and he should discern from this last great Step, whether the Protestant Religion and Peace of the Kingdom were as truly intended by others, as they were really aimed at by him.

His Majesty then put them in mind of raising Supplies for disbanding the rest of the Army, and paying off Part of the Fleet, and discharging the Anticipations on his Revenue; and tells them it would be necessary to have a good Strength at Sea this Summer, because of the naval Preparations of their Neighbours; that notwithstanding his Difficulties, he had taken Care to prevent any Danger that could threaten them, if they performed their Parts in time; and heartily recommended it to them, that such a constant Establishment might be made for the Navy, as might make the Kingdom not only safe, but formidable; and concluded with an Assurance, That he would with his Life defend the Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom; expecting from them to be defended from the Calumny, as well as Danger, of those worst of Men, who endeavoured to render him and his Government odious to the People.

The Lord Chancellor *Finch* also made a Speech, to enforce what his Majesty had said; wherein

wherein he tells them, That the King was ready to pass any further Laws against Popery which should be desired, provided they did not extend to the Diminution of his own Prerogative, nor alter the Descent of the Crown in the right Line, nor defeat the Succession.

A.D. 1678.  
31 Car. II.

But the very first Transaction in this Parliament had a very ill Aspect, and seemed to foretel the Confusions that followed; for the Commons being directed to choose a Speaker, made choice of Mr. *Edward Seymour*, the very Man who had so violently prosecuted the Earl of *Danby*: Whereupon the King, expecting this House of Commons would begin where the other left off, rejected Mr. *Seymour*, and ordered them to choose another; but they refused, and insisted, That the presenting their Speaker for the King's Approbation, was but a Thing of Course, and his Majesty had no Power to reject him: Which Resolution they adhered to, till his Majesty found there was no other Way of ending the Dispute, but by proroguing them for two or three Days. And the Parliament meeting again on the 15th of *March*, made choice of Mr. Serjeant *Gregory* for their Speaker; whom his Majesty approved.

Mr. *Edw. Seymour* chosen Speaker, and rejected by the King.

But the Change of the Speaker made no Alteration in the Measures of the Commons: They no sooner returned to their House, but they appointed a Secret Committee, to prepare the Evidence, and draw up Articles against the five Popish Lords in the *Tower*, and to take further Examinations concerning the Plot, and *Godfrey's* Murder: They sent a Message also to the Lords, to desire the Earl of *Danby* might be committed to safe Custody,

The Prosecution of the Popish Plot, and of the Earl of *Danby*, revived.

A.D. 1678

31 Car. II.



500l. paid  
Bedloe for  
his Evi-  
dence.

A new  
Witness  
arises.

Resolution  
concern-  
ing the  
Plot.

Address  
for a Fast.

and referred it to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up further Articles against him : And on the 21st of *March*, *Oates* and *Tongue* were sent for by the Commons, to give in their Narratives and Informations of the Plot ; when *Oates* did not only accuse the Earl of *Danby*, as a Conspirator, but Sir *John Robinson*, Colonel *Edward Sackville*, and Captain *Edward Goring*, all of them Protestants, and Members of the House of Commons ; and the House was so well satisfied with *Bedloe's* Depositions on these Heads, that they addressed his Majesty, That the Five hundred Pounds Reward might be paid him, as the first Discoverer of *Godfrey's* Murder ; and that the Twenty Pounds Reward might be paid to every one that discovered a Popish Priest ; and that Care might be taken of *Bedloe's* Safety : Which his Majesty answered, should be done, and said he had hitherto taken all the Care he could of Mr. *Bedloe*, knowing how considerable his Evidence was : Much about the same time arose another Evidence of the Plot ; viz. one *Edmond Everard*, a Scotchman, who had been four Years a Prisoner in the *Tower* : This Man also was directed to put his Discoveries in Writing, by way of Narrative, according to the Precedent *Oates* had set him ; And the Commons having considered the several Narratives, and other Evidence produced before them, came to a Resolution, That there then was, and for divers Years had been, a horrid and treasonable Plot and Conspiracy carried on by Papists, for murdering his Majesty, subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom. In which Resolution they had the Concurrence of the Lords ; as also in an Address for a Fast, to implore

implore Almighty God to infatuate and defeat the wicked Counfels of their Enemies; and accordingly the 11th of *April* was appointed for a Publick Fast.

*A.D. 1678.*

*31 Car. II.*

The Commons hearing about the same time, that the Earl of *Danby* had procured his Majesty's Pardon, ordered a Committee to search the Offices for it, and to enquire of the Lord Chancellor how it was obtained: To which the Chancellor answered, That the Pardon was passed with the utmost Privacy, at the Desire of the Earl, who gave this Reason for it, That he did not intend to make use of it, but to stand upon his Innocence, unless false Witnesses should be produced against him; that his Majesty also resolved, it should pass with Privacy, and soon after commanded the Lord Chancellor to bring the Seal to *White-hall*; which he did, and the King commanded the Seal to be taken out of the Bag; which his Lordship was obliged to submit to, it not being in his Power to hinder it; and the King having written his Name on the Top of the Parchment, directed it to be sealed: Whereupon the Purse-Bearer fixed the Seal to it: The Chancellor adding, That at the Time of affixing the Seal, he did not look upon himself to have the Custody of the Seal: Whereupon Mr. *Powle* and others made very severe Speeches against the Earl; and the Commons sent to the Lords, to demand Justice against him, and that he be immediately sequestered from Parliament, and committed to safe Custody: They resolved also on an Address against the Irregularity and Illegality of the Pardon, and represented the dangerous Consequences of granting Pardons to Persons impeached by the Commons.

Enquiries  
into the  
Earl of  
*Danby's*  
Pardon.



A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

The Earl  
of *Shaftes-*  
*bury* at-  
tempts to  
unite the  
Factions  
of each  
Kingdom.

A Bill for  
the At-  
tainer of  
the Earl of  
*Danby*.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury*, to inflame the Commons still more, made a Speech on the 25th of *March*, wherein he enumerated Abundance of Grievances he pretended the *Scots* lay under; suggesting, that they were intolerably oppressed and governed by arbitrary Councils; and that the Case would soon be the same in *England*, as the Ministry was the same; by which he aimed at the bringing about an Union between the Malecontents of both Kingdoms, and spiring up another Civil War: And this Speech being sent down to *Scotland*, and dispersed in that Kingdom, had in some measure the Effect he designed it should; for the Disaffected there became very insolent, expecting to be countenanced in their intended Rebellion by the Parliament of *England*, as their Forefathers had been in theirs. But to return to the Earl of *Danby*, who thinking it proper to keep out of the Way at this time, the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, to acquaint them, That they had ordered the Black Rod to apprehend the Earl, but that he could not be found: Whereupon the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in for the Attainder of the Earl, if he did not surrender himself at a certain Day; and a Bill was brought in accordingly. *Bedloe* about the same time deposed, That the Earl would have corrupted him, and endeavoured to prevail on him to alter his Evidence: *Oates* also deposed, That the Earl reflected on him, and said, as he passed by, *There goes one of the Saviours of the Nation*: He deposed also, That Colonel *Sackville* said, *They were Sons of Whores who said there was a Plot*: Whereupon the Colonel was sent to the *Tower*, and expelled the House: And indeed every Man was in

Danger

Danger of the Resentment of the Commons, who seem'd to make any Doubt of the Plot, or *Godfrey's* Murder.

A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.

There were several Conferences between the Lords and Commons, on the Bill for the Attainder of the Earl of *Danby*, which the Lords thought too severe, and would have mitigated Matters; but the Commons insisting that it should pass as they had drawn it, the Peers, at length, agreed with them: Whereupon, the Earl surrender'd himself, on the 21st of *April*, in order to his Trial, rather

He surrenders,

than incur the Pains and Penalties in the Act; and being brought the next Day to the Bar of the House of Peers, they allow'd him Time, 'till the Sitting after *Easter*, to give in his Answer to the Articles, and order'd him Council, with the Use of the Records, and Process, to bring in his Witnesses; after which, he was committed to the *Tower*, being attended thither by vast Multitudes of People, not to honour, but insult him, as a principal Conspirator in the Popish Plot, as 'twas call'd by one Side, though the Papists denominate it a *Protestant Plot*, to ruin them, and look upon the Earl as one of the Contrivers of it.

And is committed to the Tower,

Upon the Earl's going to the *Tower*, Sir *William Temple* relates, that his Majesty told him, He had not now one Minister left, to whom he could speak with Confidence, unless the Treasurer's Friend (Sir *William*); and lamented the ill Situation of his Affairs, occasion'd by the Practices of designing, ambitious Men, who made use of the Apprehensions the People were under, on account of this Plot, to promote their own dark Designs, and throw all Things into Confusion: And that Sir *William* thereupon advised his Majesty

The King complains of the Faction to Sir *William Temple*.

Is advis'd to take their Leaders into his Council,

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.



The Chiefs  
of the  
Council.

Shaftsbury  
President.

jesty to constitute a new Privy Council, consisting of thirty Noblemen and Gentlemen, of the greatest Estates and Interest in the Kingdom, among whom he should include some of the leading Men in both Houses, who would thereby probably be brought over to his Majesty's Interest, and be able to stem that Torrent, which at present bore down every thing before it: And that the King having communicated this Advice to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, and *Essex*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, they all highly approved it; whereupon his Majesty order'd an extraordinary Meeting of the Privy Council, on the 20th of *April*, and having thank'd them for their Service, and good Advice they had given him, he acquainted them with his Resolution of constituting a new one, of thirty Persons, fifteen of whom were to be the Chief Officers of State, ten more of the Nobility, and five Commoners, whose known Abilities and Principles would render them unsuspected of mistaking or betraying the true Interest of the Kingdom. Among the Lords were Prince *Rupert*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and among the Commoners were the Lord *William Russel*, *Edward Seymour*, Esq; Sir *William Temple*, and *Henry Powle*, Esq;

Sir *William Temple* says, he opposed the bringing in the Earl of *Shaftsbury* with all his Might, foreseeing he would destroy all the Good that was expected from the whole Constitution; but the King, and the rest of the Lords, were of another Opinion: And to oblige *Shaftsbury* the more, it was thought fit to make him President of the Council.

The



The King was so firmly persuaded, that this Conduct would restore his Affairs, that he went the same Day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the Commons, acquainted them with this new Establishment; observing that he had made Choice of such Persons as were worthy and able to advise him, and was resolved, in all his weighty and important Affairs, next to the Advice of his great Council of Parliament, to be advised by this Council; desiring they would apply themselves heartily, as he should do, to those Things which were necessary for the Good and Safety of the Kingdom. But though the Nation in general seem'd extreamly transported at this Alteration, as they testified by their Bells and Bonfires, the House of Commons received the News of it with great Coldness: For *Shaftsbury*, though President of the Council, finding the King had not that entire Confidence in him, as in some others; and that he must no more expect to influence the King, as formerly, was so far from endeavouring to advance his Majesty's Affairs, that he did all that lay in his Power to distress and perplex them, by still suggesting to the Parliament, the Danger of *Popery*; and that there was no way to prevent its being brought in, but by excluding the Duke of *York* from the Throne; and this he did more effectually, now he was at the Head of the Council, and believed to have a considerable Share in the Administration, than he could possibly have done, had he remain'd in a private Station. Though he had, in Reality, little or no Interest in the King, at this Time, yet, suggesting to his Friends, that the Duke of *York's* Credit declin'd, and that the Duke of

*A.D. 1679.*

*3<sup>d</sup> Car. II.*

The King acquaints the Parliament with the Alteration of his Ministry.

*Shaftsbury* still a Male-content, and embarrasses the King's Affairs.

Proposes to his Party, the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*.



*AD. 1679.* *Monmouth* was now the great Favourite at Court, by whose Assistance he should be able to carry every Thing, his Interest in both Houses became greater than ever; they seem'd now entirely govern'd by his Dictates, and consequently untractable and averse to every thing his Majesty propos'd for the Security of Religion, short of the Duke of *York's* Exclusion.

Counsellor  
*Reading*  
fin'd and  
pillory'd,  
for tam-  
pering  
with *Bed-*  
*loe.*

The five Popish Lords remaining still in the *Tower*, and expecting to be brought to their Trials, Mr. *Nathaniel Reading*, a Counsellor at Law, and their Agent, was employ'd to sound *Bedloe*, the principal Evidence against them, and try if he could induce him to be honest, and to speak no more than the Truth; and 'tis said, *Bedloe* received several Sums of Mr. *Reading* on that Score: But imagining, perhaps, that he might get more Money by betraying the Counsellor, he inform'd *Shaftsbury*, and the Faction, that *Reading* had endeavour'd to corrupt him, and prevail with him to stifle his Evidence against the Lords; for which Misdemeanor he was brought to his Trial, at the Instance of the House of Commons, and sentenced to pay a Fine of one Thousand Pounds, to be imprison'd for a Year, and to stand in the Pillory, in the Palace-Yard; which Sentence was executed upon him, as a Terror to all those who should attempt to tamper with the Witnesses of the Plot.

The Earl  
of *Danby*  
pleads his  
Pardon.

The Earl of *Danby* was brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, about the same Time, and pleading the King's Pardon, the Commons sent a Message to the Lords, to desire they would demand of the Earl, Whether he would rely on, and abide by the Plea of his Pardon?

Pardon ? Which being done, the Earl desired Time to answer the Question, and was allow'd four Days.


A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

The King, in order to make the Parliament easy in relation to the Succession of the Crown, came to the House on the 30th of April, and told them, That it was his constant Care to do every thing that might preserve their Religion, and secure it for the future in all Events ; and had commanded the Lord Chancellor to mention several Particulars, which he hop'd would shew, that in all Things which concern'd the publick Safety, he should not follow their Zeal, but lead it.

The King proposes Expedients instead of the Exclusion.

Whereupon, the Lord Chancellor acquainted them, That his Majesty was willing that Provision might be made first, to distinguish a Popish from a Protestant Successor, and to limit and circumscribe the Authority of a Popish Successor in the following Cases : I. That all Ecclesiastical Promotions, in the Gift of the Crown, should be conferr'd in such a Manner, that the Incumbents should always be the most pious and learned Protestants ; and that no Popish Successor should have Power to controul such Presentments. II. That as it is provided already that no Papist should sit in either House of Parliament, so, on the Demise of the Crown, the Parliament then in being should be indissoluble for a competent Time ; and if no Parliament was in being, the last should re-assemble. III. That none of the Privy-Council, or Judges, during the Reign of a Popish Successor, should be put in, or displaced, but by Authority of Parliament, and none but sincere Protestants should be Justices of Peace. IV. That no Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, or Of-

*AD.* 1679. *31 Car. II.*  ficer of the Navy, during the Reign of a Popish Successor, should be put out or remov'd, but by Parliament : And if any thing else could occur, which might further secure Religion and Property against a Popish Successor, without defeating the Right of Succession itself, his Majesty would most willingly consent to it.

They are not approved by the Commons.

The Commons demand Judgment against the Earl of *Danby*. Address against Duke *Lauderdale*.

These Concessions were little regarded by the Commons ; they had been taught by *Shaftsbury*, that nothing but the Exclusion of the Duke of *York* could secure them against Popery : They went on therefore, without regarding them, with their Impeachment against the Earl of *Danby*, and in a Body, with their Speaker at the Head of them, demanded Judgment of the House of Lords against the Earl ; for they conceiv'd his Pardon was void.

Soon after, they drew up an Address against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, whom they charged with Designs against the Liberties of the Subject, and the Protestant Religion, and with raising Jealousies and Misunderstandings between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* ; and desire therefore, that he may be removed from his Majesty's Councils in both Kingdoms, and from all Offices, Employments, and Places of Trust, and from his Majesty's Presence for ever ; which Address they attended the King with in a Body, but receiv'd no other Answer than, *That the King would consider of it, and return an Answer.*

Address for the Execution of *Pickering*, &c.

The Commons having also address'd his Majesty for the Execution of *Pickering*, and other Popish Priests, were answer'd, That he had always been tender in Matters of Blood, which his Subjects had no Reason to take Exception at : But this was a Matter of great

Weight,



Weight, and therefore he should consider of it. And some Time after, the King sent the Commons a Message by the Lord *Russel*, to acquaint them, That he consented the Law should pass upon *Pickering*, but as to the other condemn'd Priests, the House of Peers had sent for them, in order to a further Examination ; and put them in mind of granting Supplies, for fitting out a Fleet, for the Defence of the Kingdom, of which little Notice was taken ; but they granted upwards of two hundred Thousand Pounds, for disbanding the rest of the Army, of which they pretended to be in much more Dread than of a foreign Enemy.

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

200,000*l.*  
given for  
disbanding  
the Army.

The Commons receiving a Message from the Lords, the Beginning of *May*, That the Earl of *Danby* adhered to his Plea of Pardon, and pray'd to be heard by his Council, to make good the Validity thereof ; and that it was order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, That *Saturday* the 10th Instant be appointed for hearing the Earl make good his Plea ; and that the five Popish Lords in the *Tower* should be brought to their Trials, on *Wednesday* the 14th of this Month : The Commons thereupon resolved, That no Commoner should presume to maintain the Validity of the Earl of *Danby's* Pardon, without the Consent of the House ; and whoever did, should be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*, which was order'd to be posted up in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Inns of Court.

The Lords appoint a Day to argue the Validity of the Earl of *Danby's* Pardon.

The Commons forbid the Council to plead for the Earl.

There were also some Differences between the two Houses concerning the Trials of the Popish Lords : For the Peers had address'd the King, to appoint a High Steward, which

Differences between the two Houses, concerning the



A.D. 1679 the Commons thought unnecessary on a Trial in Parliament; and this occasion'd some Conferences, at one of which, the Lords acquainted the Commons, That they had received a Petition from the Earl of *Danby*, setting forth, That his Council durst not appear to argue the Validity of his Pardon, by reason of a Vote of the House of Commons; and that their Lordships desired to know, *Whether there was any such Vote as was alledged in the said Petition?* To which the Commons, instead of giving an immediate Answer, fell upon their Fears and Jealousies again; and, to alarm the People, address'd his Majesty to raise the Militia of *London, Westminster, and Middlesex*, to defend them against the Papists, that swarm'd about Town, at this Time, as they pretended: They resolved also to sit on *Sunday*, as they had done a Fortnight before, to consider how to avoid these threatening Dangers; and then order'd a Bill to be brought in to disable the Duke of *York* to inherit the Crown, as the only Expedient that could remove their Fears: After which, they resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That in Defence of the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion, they would stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes: And if his Majesty should come to any violent Death, they would revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists; and attending his Majesty with an Address of the same Tenor, he answer'd; *Gentlemen, I thank you for the Zeal for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and of my Person: And I assure you, I shall do what in me lies, to secure the Protestant Religion; and am willing to do all such Things, as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.*

The Commons address the King, to raise the Militia.

Resolve on a Bill of Exclusion.  
Resolve to revenge the King's Death on the Papists.

The Lords, about the same Time, communicated their Resolutions to the Commons, in relation to the impeach'd Lords, viz. That the Office of High Steward, on the Trials of Peers upon Impeachments is not necessary, but that the Lords may proceed upon such Trials, if a High Steward be not appointed, at their humble Desire; and that a Lord High Steward was but a Speaker, or Chairman, for the more orderly Proceedings at Trials. II. That the Lords Spiritual have a Right to stay in Court, in capital Cases, 'till the Court proceed to the Vote of Guilty, or Not Guilty. The Lords also acquainted the Commons, That they had appointed *Thursday* the twenty second Instant for the Trials of the five Lords; and that thereupon the Lords Spiritual had ask'd Leave of the House, that they might withdraw themselves from the Trials of the said Lords, with the Liberty of entering their usual Protestations: But the Commons declared, that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any Proceedings against the Lords in the *Tower*, which put a Stop to the Trials of those Lords for the present, and Books were written on both Sides, concerning the Right of the Lords Spiritual to sit and vote in Capital Cases.

A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.

Resolutions of the Lords, concerning Trials

Disputes concerning the Right of the Spiritual Lords to vote in Trials.

The Commons, in the mean Time, finish'd their Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, whereby he was render'd incapable of inheriting the Crown; and it was provided, that on the Demise of his Majesty, his Dominions should devolve on the Person next in Succession, as if the Duke were dead; and that if any one should endeavour to set the Duke upon the Throne, or correspond with him for that End, he should incur the Guilt of High

The Substance of the Bill of Exclusion;

*AD.* 1679 High Treason: And if the Duke should come into any of the *British* Dominions, he should also be deem'd guilty of High Treason: All Persons were required to seize and imprison him; and in Case of Resistance made by him and his Adherents, to subdue them by Force of Arms: This Bill, at the second Reading, was carried by a great Majority, *viz.* Yeas 207, Noes 128: But the Parliament being prorogued on the 27th of *May*, they proceeded no further in it this Session. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was at this Time preparing Remonstrances, to incite the People against the Government; but being disappointed in finishing them by this sudden Prorogation, he raved like a Madman, crying out in the House, *He would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of it: To such a Height of Arrogance was this Incendiary arrived.—The most material Act that pass'd this Sessions was that for the Security of the Liberty of the Subject, usually stiled, The Habeas Corpus Act; the Benefit whereof we enjoy at this Day.*

The Parlia-  
ment pro-  
rogued.

At which  
*Shaftsbury*  
rages.

The *Habeas Cor-  
pus* Act  
pass'd.

The *Scots*  
rebel.

The *Scots* observing how considerable the Malecontents were in *England*, began to lead the Way to another Rebellion; in which they did not doubt of being supported by their Friends in the South, as they were in the former: For, at their Field Conventicles, they display'd the Banners of *JESUS CHRIST*, as they call'd their *COLOURS*: Their Preachers declaring, *That this was the Time of their Deliverance, when God would take Vengeance of their Enemies: Only they must repent, be strong, and of great Courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord manfully; and then dispersed Lists of such Men as they had destin'd to Destruction, among whom were Doctor Sharp, Archbishop*

of



A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.



of St. *Andrews*, whom they term'd, a perjur'd and Apostate Prelate; and soon after murder'd this excellent Man, in the following Manner.

They murder the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*.

His Grace, having assisted at a Council at *Edinburgh*, went over from thence into *Fife*, in the Afternoon, on the second of *May*, 1679: He lodged that Night at Captain *Seaton's*, in a Village call'd *Kennoway*, which is in the Mid-way, between *Bruntisland* and *St. Andrews*. About Midnight, as the People of the Town report, two Men, well mounted, and arm'd, came thither to enquire, if the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was lodged at Captain *Seaton's*, and as soon as they were inform'd that he was, they presently rode out of the Town again. The next Morning, being the third of *May*, several Parties of Horsemen were seen to traverse the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and *St. Andrews*; but the Lord Primate, who was a Man of great natural Courage, and whom so many Deliverances, for almost Twenty Years, from the Hands of those bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire Confidence in God's Protection, took Coach about Nine of the Clock, having none but his elder Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horseback, to attend him; one of whom he had sent, before he was assaulted, to pay his Respects to a Person of Honour, by whose House he pass'd on the Road. He advanced in his Journey in great Security, 'till he came to a little Country Village, call'd *Magus*, two Miles distant from *St. Andrews*, betwixt Eleven and Twelve of the Clock in the Forenoon; there he first perceived himself to be pursued by Eleven or Twelve Men, bare-



A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.

faced, well mounted, with Pistols cock'd in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms. As soon as he espied them, he bid his Coachman drive as fast as his Horses could gallop; but too late, for the Assassins furiously pursued him, and in their Pursuit, shot at him several Times in the Coach running as fast as Six good Horses could draw it: The Coachman had certainly out driven them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinlock*, mounted on a very fleet Horse, had not overtaken them, who rode up to the Postilion, whom he wounded with his Sword in the Face, shot one of the foremost Coach-Horses, ham-string'd the other, and stopp'd the Coach: By that Time this was done, the rest of the Murderers came up, and one of them fired a Pistol, or a Blunderbuss, so near his Breast, that his Daughter rubb'd off the burning which stuck to his Gown: Then they call'd him Dog, Villain, Apostate, Persecutor of the Godly, Betrayer of *Jesus Christ*, and his Church, &c. and bid him come out of the Coach, to receive what he deserved for his Wickedness. Upon this, his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her Knees, begging her Father's Life; but they regarded neither her Prayers nor Tears, threw her down several Times upon the Ground, trampled upon her, and wounded her; which her Father seeing, after much reproachful Language, and many Threatnings, came out of the Coach, and with Calmness said to them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I ever injur'd any of you, or if I did, I am ready to make you Reparation, and therefore I beseech you to spare my Life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this Violence; and I pray you consider before ye bring the*

*Guilt*

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.



*Guilt of innocent Blood upon yourselves.* The Reverence of his Presence, and his undaunted Courage, in addressing himself so resolutely and gravely to them, surprized them, and made them stand a little while, as it were, unresolved what to do; and one of them relenting, cry'd to the rest, *Spare these grey Hairs.* But their cruel Zeal overcoming their natural Pity, they replied, *He must die, he must die:* And then, again calling him traiterous Villain, *Judas*, Betrayer of the Interest of Christ, Enemy to God and his People, said to him, *Thou shalt now receive the Reward of thy Apostacy, and Enmity to the People of God.* Then, seeing them determin'd to take away his Life, he begged a little while to pray, telling them, he would pray for them: But they scornfully told him, That they cared not for his Prayers, being sure that God would not hear so base a Dog as he was. Then looking stedfastly upon one of the Assassins, whom he seem'd to know, he kneeled down before him, and said, *Sir, you are a Gentleman; and I must beg my last Favour from you, That, since you are resolv'd I must die, you would have Pity upon my poor Child here, and spare her Life; and for this, Sir, give me your Hand:* And stretching out his Hand towards the cruel Man, he received a Stroke with a Sword, which almost quite cut off his Hand; and the Villain redoubling his Blow, gave him another Wound upon the left Eye: This Stroke knocked him down, but getting upon his Knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough; you have done your Work:* And holding up his Hands as well as he could to Heaven, he fervently cried out, *Lord Jesus, have Mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this Posture of

A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.

Devotion, they wounded him in his Hands, which he held up to Heaven, and in other Parts of his Body, till, in a kind of Composure, he laid down his Head upon his Arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were the last Words; after which they gave him no less than sixteen Wounds on his Head, insomuch that it seemed to be all one Wound; and Pieces of his shattered Skull and Brains were some Days after found on the Ground: Having thus hacked and cleft his Head, some of them as they were going away thought they heard him groan, which made them go back, and to make sure Work, stirred about his Brains in the Skull with the Points of their Swords. Having finished their long desired Murder, they made his Servants solemnly swear, not to discover them; and then bad them in Derision *take up their Priest*.

The Scottish  
Rebels  
proclaim  
the Cove-  
nant,

Surprize  
Glasgow,

Ravage the  
Country:

The same Month, *viz.* the 29th of May, the Fanaticks, and other Field-Conventiclers, began to assemble their Forces, and at *Rugland* proclaimed their adored Covenant again, which had done such Wonders in their former Rebellion: Whereupon Captain *Graham*, afterwards Lord *Dundee*, endeavoured to disperse them with his Troop; but was defeated; and their Numbers encreased to that Degree, that they made themselves Masters of the City of *Glasgow*; where they published a Proclamation, commanding the Magistrates to turn out all Archbishops, Bishops, and Curates, with their Children and Servants, within eight and forty Hours, under the highest Pains; and inviting their Brethren to join them, plundered the adjacent Country. But the Ministry in *Scotland* raised Forces sufficient to



to cover *Edinburgh* from their Ravages: And though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* opposed the suppressing them, in Council, with all his Art, the King sent down a Body of Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*; who joining with the Forces already raised in *Scotland*, fell upon the Rebels at *Bothwell-Bridge* on the 22d of *June*, and defeated them, tho' they were then Seventeen thousand strong, of whom about eight hundred were killed, and twelve hundred taken Prisoners; among the latter were several of the Murderers of the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, who were hanged, with some few more, and the rest transported.

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

They are defeated at *Bothwell-Bridge* by the Duke of *Monmouth*.

In the mean time five eminent Jesuits were brought to their Trials at *London*, for the Popish Plot, on the 13th of *June*; viz. *Thomas Whitebread* Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *William Harcourt* reputed Rector of *London*, *John Fenwick* Procurator of the Jesuits in *England*, *John Gavan*, and *Anthony Turner*.

Five Jesuits tried for the Popish Plot.

*Oates* deposed at this Trial, That *Whitebread*, the Provincial of the Jesuits, appointed a Consult at the *White Horse* in the *Strand*, which was held the 24th of *April*, 1678; and that *Whitebread*, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, and *Turner*, all signed a Resolve there for the King's Death, in his Presence: That *Whitebread* afterwards returning to *St. Omers*, said, He hoped to see the black Fool's Head at *Whiteball* laid fast enough; and if his Brother should appear to follow his Footsteps, his Passport should be made too: That in *July*, *Asbby* a Priest, brought over Instructions from *Whitebread*, to offer Sir *George Wakeman* ten thousand Pounds to poison the King; and also a

*Oates's* Evidence against them.

Com-



A.D. 1679 Commission to Sir *John Gage* to be an Officer  
 31 Car. II. in the Army; and that he saw *Gavan's* Hand  
 to the Resolve.

*Dugdale's*  
 Evidence.

*Stephen Dugdale*, a new Witness, formerly a Servant to the Lord *Aston*, whom he had cheated of several hundred Pounds, deposed, That he saw a Letter under *Whitebread's* Hand to Father *Ewers*, ordering him to be sure to choose stout Men for killing the King; and that *Gavan* would have engaged the Depo-  
 nent to be concerned in killing the King, telling him, it was not only lawful, but meritorious; That Father *Harcourt* wrote Word to *Ewers*, That *Godfrey* was murdered, the very Night it was done: And against *Turner* he deposed, That he saw him, with others, at *Ewers's* Chambers, where they resolved to bring in Popery by killing the King.

*Prance's*  
 Evidence.

*Prance* deposed, That *Harcourt*, paying him for an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, told him, there was a Design to kill the King; and *Fenwick* told him, there would be fifty thousand Men raised, to be commanded by the Lords *Bellasis*, *Powis*, and Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*.

*Bedloe's*  
 Evidence.

*Bedloe* deposed, That he had seen *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* at several Consults about the Plot; that he heard *Whitebread* tell *Coleman* the Manner of sending four Russians to *Windsor* to kill the King; that he saw *Harcourt* take fourscore or an hundred Pounds out of a Cabinet, to give to a Messenger to be carried to the Russians at *Windsor*; that *Whitebread* told him, *Pickering* was to have a great Number of Masses, and *Grove* 15000*l.* for killing the King; that *Harcourt* recommended him to the Lord *Arundel*, who promised him great Favour when the Times turned; and that he saw *Harcourt* give *Wakeman* a Bill

A.D. 1679

31 Car. II.

~~~~~

to receive Two thousand Pounds, in part of a greater Sum, and heard Sir *George* say, Fifteen thousand Pounds was but a small Reward, for the settling Religion, and preserving three Kingdoms from Ruin.

*Whitebread* and *Fenwick* insisted, That on the 17th of *December* before, they had been tried for the same Fact; that the Jury was charged with them, and the Evidence given, and being found insufficient, the Jury was dismissed without giving a Verdict; and they desired Council might be assigned them as to that Point, Whether they ought to plead a second time; for they were informed, no Man could be put in Jeopardy of his Life twice for the same Cause; but, after the Jury is charged with the Prisoners and the Evidence given, the Prisoners ought to be either convicted or acquitted.

*Whitebread* objects, he had been tried for the same Fact before.

The Court, notwithstanding, denied the Prisoners Council; and the Lord Chief Justice and all the Judges agreed, That it was in the Discretion of the Court to discharge the Jury without taking a Verdict. *But this has been denied to be Law ever since.*

His Plea over-ruled.

*Whitebread*, being over-ruled by the Court in that Point, objected to *Oates's* Evidence, That he was not a credible Witness, having taken contradictory Oaths, and that it was not probable he should trust a Man in a Conspiracy against the King's Life, whom, by his own Confession, he had never seen, and whom they had dismissed from *St. Omers* for his irregular Life: The Prisoners also produced fifteen young Gentlemen, Students at *St. Omers*, who deposed, That *Oates* was at *St. Omers* at the Time he swore he was at the Consult in *London*: They deposed also, That several

The Prisoner's Defence.

A.D. 1679. several of the Persons who *Oates* swore came over with him, were in *Flanders* at that time. 31 Car. II. Other Witnesses deposed, That *Gavan* was in *Staffordshire* at the Time *Oates* swore he was in *London*: And as to the Objection that was made by the Court, That the Witnesses could not be looked on as good Witnesses, because they were *Roman-Catholicks*, they said, At this rate all Commerce must be broken off with the *Roman-Catholick* Countries. They urged further, That the Witnesses who swore against them were vicious, profligate Persons, of desperate Fortunes, and who made a Livelihood of Swearing; and desired that the Court would permit them to shew what *Oates* had deposed in *Ireland's* Trial contrary to the Evidence he gave now; whereupon Sir *John Southcote* and the Lady *Southcote*, and several other Persons, deposed, That *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire*, when *Oates* swore he was in Town at that Trial.

*Whitebread* observed further, That at his first Trial, when *Oates* was pressed to declare who had seen him in Town, he could not name one, but he said he had not seen much Company, and staid but six Days; and now he swore he came over the 17th of *April*, and his Witnesses deposed, they saw him here the Beginning of *May*, which must be a great deal more than six Days; and consequently his Oath either in this or the former Trial was false: They said, it was probable also, that Mr. *Oates* was disgusted at his being turned out of the College at *St. Omers*, and this might be the Ground of his Malice against them. As to *Dugdale's* Testimony against them, they urged, That he ran away from the Lord *Aston*, having lost Three hundred Pounds of his



his Lordship's Money. The Prisoners also desired, That the Court would take notice of the Numbers of the Witnesses they brought to prove *Oates* at *St. Omers*, who eat and conversed with him every Day; whereas the Witnesses on the other side were not so numerous, and but one or two of them spoke to any particular Days: *Whitebread* particularly urged the Improbability of his sending a Letter by the Common Post to *Mr. Ewers*, to provide stout Men to kill the King; and that he should be so mad to beat a Man to whom he had committed such a Secret, as *Oates* had deposed; That it was strange there should be a Plot, wherein so many Persons of Honour and Quality were said to be concerned, and no Footsteps of it should appear, no Arms bought, no Men listed, or any Provision made to put it in Execution: Nor could it be supposed, they said, that so many young Gentlemen, virtuously educated, should come over from *St. Omers* to attest a Falshood; that the Witnesses against them were a poor, beggarly People, who thought to advance their Fortunes by their pretended Discovery; and, in short, that there was no manner of Reason to induce the Jury's Belief, *but downright Swearing*: And as to the Prisoners themselves, they appealed to the World for the Innocence and Unblamableness of their Lives hitherto, whereas it was evident how viciously and scandalously their Accusers had lived.

The Chief Justice in his Direction to the Jury told them, That the Testimony of the *St. Omers* Witnesses was of much less Weight than the Evidence given for the King, not only because it was upon Oath (though he doubted not but the *St. Omers* Lads would

The Chief Justice directs the Jury to find them guilty.



A.D. 1679. have sworn their Evidence, if they might) but because the Testimony of a Papist was not to be credited with or without an Oath, since they were of a Religion that could dispense with Oaths, though false, for the Sake of a good Cause; and told the Jury, that they were not to govern their Judgments by a Mistake of seven or eight Days, for they themselves, he did not doubt, were often mistaken a Week or a Month in their ordinary Affairs: He laid great Strefs also upon a Letter which *Dugdale* deposed was sent by Mr. *Harcourt* to Mr. *Ewers*, of *Godfrey's* Murder, the very Day he was missing; this, he said, must turn every Protestant Heart against them; the Plot was in a great measure proved by that Murder, and this was but a Specimen of what they designed to do; he did not doubt but they would kill the King, or any body else that stood in the way of their Religion; a Religion, which they would bring in by a Conversion of Blood, and by a baptismal Fire: That as to the Prisoners disproving *Oates's* being here, or Mr. *Ireland's* Absence in *August*, when *Oates* swore he was in *London*, that was not the Business of this Day; and if *Ireland's* Jury had not been satisfied he was in *London*, they would not have found him guilty.

The Prisoners convicted.

The Jury having withdrawn a Quarter of an Hour, they brought in the Prisoners guilty, and they were all condemned and executed, professing their Innocence to the last: But I refer to the *State Trials* for a particular Account of these Proceedings.

The Trial of Counsellor *Langborne*.

The next Day, being the 14th of *June*, came on the Trial of *Richard Langborne*, Esq; a Barrister of the *Temple*: He was a great Conveyancer; and being a Papist, was much employed

employed by them : He was charged with holding a Correspondence with *Le Chefe*, the French King's Confessor, in order to bring in Popery ; with being privy to the Jesuits Consult, and Sir *George Wakeman's* Design of poisoning the King ; with having Commissions in his Custody from the Pope to several popish Noblemen, and others, constituting them Ministers of State and Officers ; and with raising Money for the Conspirators to carry on the Plot.

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

The Charge against him.

The Witnesses against the Prisoner were *Oates* and *Bedloe* ; against whose Testimony he objected, That they were Partners in the Crime. To which it was answered, *Oates* had three Pardons, and *Bedloe* two ; and consequently they were competent Witnesses : Then the Prisoner demanded, Whether they had any Reward for their Discoveries ? To which *Oates* replied, with an Oath, That he had been rewarded by expending six or seven hundred Pounds out of his own Pocket, without knowing he should ever see it again : And *Bedloe* deposed, he was so far from having any Benefit by being a Discoverer, that he was seven hundred Pounds out of Pocket : Which the Prisoner observed was very strange, when they were so necessitous before this pretended Discovery, that one of them had but nine Pence a Day, besides what he received from his charitable Friends ; and the other was fed out of the Alms-Basket of the *Marshalsea* Prison.

Proved by *Oates* and *Bedloe*.

Their Testimony objected to.

Then he proceeded to shew, that *Oates* was perjured in his Deposition concerning the Consult of Jesuits held the 24th of *April*, and *Ireland's* being there, by great Numbers of Witnesses ; and said he could have produced

*A.D.* 1679. more, but his Witnesses were beaten and abused, and not suffered to come into Court: But this did not avail him; the Jury, by the Direction of the Chief Justice, found him guilty, and he was condemned, together with the five Jesuits. He was reprieved, however, to the 14th of *July*, either in hopes of a further Discovery, or to give him Time to settle his Affairs with his Clients; but the Jesuits were executed at *Tyburn* the 20th of *June*.

31 *Car. II.*

The Prisoner is convicted and condemned, with the five Jesuits. The Jesuits executed.

The King, and great Part of the Council, detesting these bloody Prosecutions, and expecting that they would be continued by *Shaftsbury*, and other factious Leaders, on the meeting of the Parliament; and that the *Exclusion Bill* would be again revived by the same Set of Men; his Majesty thought fit first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the present Parliament, and call another: In which he was very unfortunate; for upon the Examination of the Returns, he found the new elected Members more possessed with the Belief of the Plot, and consequently more zealous for the *Bill of Exclusion*, than the former; which induced his Majesty to defer their Meeting for a considerable time.

The Parliament dissolved, and a new one called; but not suffered to meet.

Sir *George Wakeman*, and others, tried.

In the mean while Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, *William Marshal*, and *James Corker*, *Benedictine* Monks, and *William Rumley*, a Lay-Brother, were brought to their Trials at the *Old Baily*, as Accomplices in the Popish Plot.

The Charge.

*Oates* and *Bedloe* Witnesses.

Sir *George Wakeman* was charged with engaging to poison the King for the Reward of Fifteen thousand Pounds, and actually receiving part of that Sum; the Witnesses to prove it being the inimitable *Oates* and *Bedloe*: who also deposed that *Corker* and *Marshal* were privy

privy to the Design of Killing the King: But *Oates* was so merciful at this Trial to give no Evidence against *Rumley*; and it evidently appearing that he had sworn falsly in several Parts of his Evidence against the rest, as that *Corker* was President of the *Benedictines*, and that *Wakeman* had ordered *Ashby* to drink Milk with the *Bath Waters*, which is never done by any Physician; the Jury did not think fit to give Credit to him in other Particulars, and they were all acquitted, as the Chief Justice directed: Whereupon the Maintainers of the Plot took another Way to be revenged on their Enemies the Papists, by causing several of their Priests to be indicted, purely for exercising their Functions; among whom were, *Charles Kerne*, tried the 4th of *August*, and *Andrew Bromwich* and *William Atkins*, the 13th of *August*; of whom the first was acquitted, but the other two were condemned as Traitors, for no other Crime than their having taken Popish Orders: And *Oates* and *Bedloe*, the principal Witnesses of the Plot, were so exasperated that they were not believed at *Wakeman's* Trial, that they had the Impudence to charge the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* with Corruption: Libels and Pamphlets also were dispersed, containing gross Reflexions on the Chief Justice; which occasioned his making a Speech in Court the first Day of *Michaelmas* Term; in which he declared, That he was neither ashamed nor afraid to own what he had done; that the Impeachment of the Course of publick Justice by vulgar Noise and Clamour, should never terrify him into a Compliance with the Rabble against his Conscience and Understanding, nor to try a Cause otherwise than according to the

4.D.1679.

31 Car. II.

The Pri-  
soners ac-  
quitted by  
the Direc-  
tion of the  
Chief Ju-  
stice.  
Priests con-  
demned for  
taking Po-  
pish Orders;

*Oates* and  
*Bedloe*  
charge the  
Chief Ju-  
stice with  
Corrup-  
tion.

His Lord-  
ship's De-  
claration  
thereupon.

Evi-



*A.D.* 1679. Evidence, and the Credibility it carried with it. Mr. Justice *Jones* and Mr. Justice *Dolben* made Speeches of the same Tenour, applauding the Integrity and Impartiality of the Lord Chief Justice.

The King  
taken ill.

The King falling sick the latter end of *August* this Year, some Lords of the Council, who had discovered the Duke of *Monmouth's* Ambition to succeed to the Crown on the Demise of his Majesty, and the various Arts practised by *Shaftsbury* to effect it, and exclude the Duke of *York*, thought it expedient to send for his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* from *Brussels*, in order to secure his Succession: And the Duke accordingly arrived at *Whitehall* the second of *September*, but found the King pretty well recovered.

The Duke  
of *York*  
comes  
over.

Practices of  
*Monmouth*  
and *Shafis-*  
*bury* to  
defeat the  
Succession.

As the News of the King's Illness had been improved by the Faction to heighten the Fear of Popery, and prejudice the People against his Royal Highness, it is not to be conceived what a Consternation they were in; Fire and Faggot, with a total Subversion of the Constitution, were now hourly expected; while *Shaftsbury* every where suggested, That nothing but the advancing the Duke of *Monmouth* to the Throne could deliver them from it: And *Monmouth* himself, 'tis said, charmed with the near Prospect of a Crown, made use of every popular Art to engage the People in his Favour, if the King should die: Which his Majesty being acquainted with, *Monmouth* was removed from his Place of Captain-General, and ordered to leave the Kingdom; whereupon he embarked for *Holland*; and *Shaftsbury* soon after was turned out of the Privy Council.

*Monmouth*  
sent abroad.  
*Shafesbury*  
turned out.

The Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Bucks*, relates, That no Person contributed

more

more to *Monmouth's* Advancement at Court at first than the Duke of *York*; That his Royal Highness recommended him to the Post of Captain-General, as well to prevent *Schomberg's* possessing it, as out of Friendship to *Monmouth's* Wife, a Lady of Wit and Reputation, who had the Ambition of making her Husband considerable, and the Address of succeeding in it, by using her Interest in so friendly an Uncle, whose Design *Mulgrave* believed was only to convert her: But whether this Familiarity of theirs was contrived, or only connived at, by the Duke of *Monmouth*, he could not determine. However, this great Intimacy between the Duke of *York* and his Nephew, according to *Mulgrave*, was broken by the Inconstancy of one of their Mistresses; and was the Occasion of such a Division between them, as never ceased, till it cost one of them the Hazard of his Crown, and the other the Loss of his Life on the Scaffold: So great an Unconstancy, says that Noble Writer, there is in Court-Affairs, and such Ignorance in those who commonly write them, that they very gravely attribute to Prudence, or Providence, what is often nothing else but Humour, Love, or Jealousy. And possibly this Difference between his Royal Highness and his Nephew, on Account of this Amour mentioned by Earl *Mulgrave*, gave *Shaftsbury* the first Hint of working upon his Patron and Pupil (*Monmouth*) to rival *York* in the Crown, as well as in his Love. But to return from this Digression, if it be one.

Upon the King's Recovery, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, attended by an Hundred of the Principal Citizens on Horseback, went down to *Windsor* to congratulate his Majesty on

A.D. 1679.

31 Car. II.

Earl *Mulgrave's* Account of the Difference between the Duke of *York* and *Monmouth*;

Rejoicings for the King's Recovery,

*A.D.* 1679. on the Occasion; and two Days after the King, with his Royal Highness and the whole Court, returning to *Whitehall*, Bonfires were made in all the Principal Streets of the City to testify their Joy; so little did the People believe the King had any Design upon their Religion or Liberties, as some factious Leaders would have insinuated. His Royal Highness afterwards attended the King to *New-Market*, and having obtain'd Leave to bring over his Family from *Brussels*, and to reside in *Scotland*, from whence he might, with more Ease, return to *England* in Case of any Exigency; the following Notice of this Resolution was given in the *Gazette* the 7th of *October*, (*viz.*)

“ His Royal Highness having represented to  
 “ his Majesty, that he conceives it for many  
 “ Respects more proper for him to be in his  
 “ Majesty’s Dominions, rather than those of  
 “ another Prince; and made it his humble  
 “ Request to his Majesty to have his Leave  
 “ to go into *Scotland*; His Majesty hath  
 “ granted it, and its presum’d his Royal  
 “ Highness will, in a short Time, repair  
 “ thither”. Accordingly the Duke and  
 “ Dutcheß, with their Family, coming to St.  
 “ James’s from *Brussels* the 12th of *October*,  
 “ soon after set out for *Edinburgh*, and ar-  
 “ rived there the 4th of *December*.

The Duke  
 of York and  
 his Family  
 go to Scot-  
 land,

The Dukes of *York* and *Monmouth* were now both at a Distance from Court, the One in *Scotland*, the other in *Holland*: And as they were the Heads of the two contending Parties in the Nation, the King was in Hopes the Heats would have been abated by their Absence, and the Parliament might have met without any Inconvenience at the Day they stood prorogued to; but it was found upon Examination,



Examination, that *Shaftsbury* had taken such an Advantage of the Duke of *York's* returning to Court, though he made no Stay there, and the Duke of *Monmouth's* being sent abroad, that the Party he influenced were extreemly irritated and provok'd, and would have entered upon Measures by no Means acceptable to the Court, if they had been suffered to assemble: Whereupon the King thought fit to prorogue them again, and to defer their Meeting for a Twelvemonth; which so incensed the Lords *Russel* and *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, who were devoted to *Monmouth* and *Shaftsbury*, that they desired his Majesty to dispense with their Attendance at the Council-Board: To which the King answered, *With all my Heart*, being ever too well convinced that his Enemies could do him less Hurt out of the Council than in it. The Earl of *Essex* also quitted his Post of First Commissioner of the Treasury, and others resign'd their Places, under a Notion, probably, that the King could not do without them. *Essex* was succeeded by the Honourable *Lawrence Hyde*, Brother to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and *Sydney Godolphin*, afterwards Earl *Godolphin*, was sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council; and these two Gentlemen, with the Earl of *Sunderland*, were thought to have the greatest Influence on Affairs of State at this Time. The Lord *Roberts*, afterwards Earl of *Radnor*, succeeded *Shaftsbury* as President of the Council, and the Duke of *Albemarle* was made Captain of the Life-Guards of Horse in the Room of the Duke of *Monmouth*: The Earl of *Mulgrave* succeeded *Monmouth* as Lord-Lieutenant of the *East-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, and in the

A.D. 1679  
31 Car. II.  
The Parliament prorogu'd for a Year.

Whereupon the Whig Ministers resign.



A.D. 1679 Government of *Hull*: The Honourable *Daniel Finch* succeeded Sir *Henry Capel* as first Commissioner of the Admiralty; and Sir *Stephen Fox* was about the same time made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

*Danger-*  
*field's, or*  
*the Meal-*  
*Tub Plot.*

The Principal *Roman Catholics* of the Kingdom, in order to secure themselves and their Friends from further Prosecution, were very busy in the mean time in searching for Evidence to discredit *Oates* and *Bedloe*, and the rest of the Witnesses of the Popish Plot; and to prove their Enemies, the *Whigs*, guilty of plotting against the Government, and found one *Dangerfield*, a Prisoner in *Newgate*, a very fit Instrument for their Purpose. He was a Man not inferiour to *Oates* or *Bedloe* in Impudence or Roguery. They released him out of Prison therefore, and having paid his Debts, employ'd him in finding Evidence against the King's Witnesses, in getting Priests out of Prison, in negotiating Matters between the Lords in the Tower and their Friends, and in writing Pamphlets that might be serviceable to the Catholics: He was also employed to leave dangerous Papers and Lists of Names in the Lodgings and Houses of some of the Principal Whigs, to render them suspected by the Government: The Heads of which Plot were afterwards found in a Packet that was hid in a Meal-Tub at Mrs. *Collier's* House, a Creature belonging to the Countess of *Powis*, from whence this Contrivance obtain'd the Name of THE MEAL-TUB PLOT. Indeed *Shaftsbury* had been too cunning for the Lady *Powis* and the Catholics, and corrupted *Dangerfield*, their Agent, whose Confessions prov'd extreamly mischievous to their Cause: *Knox* and *Lane*, Men he had

had suborn'd to swear against *Oates*, were apprehended and prosecuted; and every Stratagem they had contriv'd was turn'd against them, and made a further Evidence of the Popish Plot: And to keep up the dismal Apprehensions of the People, on the 17th of *November*, *Q. Elizabeth's* Birth-Day, an Image resembling *Godfrey*, was carried through the Streets on Horseback by the factious Mob, a Bellman walking before it to remind the People how barbarously the Justice was murder'd, and what Treatment they themselves must expect if Popery prevail'd, or, which was the same Thing, if the Duke of *York* succeeded to the Crown: And so it was contriv'd, that about ten Days after this Procession, the Duke of *Monmouth*, who, the People had been taught, was the only Man that could deliver them from all these Evils, arriv'd in the City; and though it was Midnight when he came in, Bonfires were made, and the Bells rung, to testify the Joy of the Faction for their Heroe's Arrival: Seditious Pamphlets also were perpetually dispers'd to keep up the Disaffection of the People, and insinuate, that nothing short of setting *Monmouth* on the Throne could rescue them from the Destruction they dreaded: But none of their Libels mov'd the Passions of the Multitude, or contributed more to give them an Abhorrence of the Popish Succession, than the Pamphlet intituled, AN APPEAL FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE CITY. The Author thereof advises the Citizens "to go to the Top of the Monument erected in Memory of the former Fire, and imagine they saw the whole Town in Flames, a second Time, occasioned by the same Popish Malice which set it on Fire before: That amongst

*A D. 1679.*

*31 Car. II.*

Great Rejoicings made for *Monmouth's* Return.

A Libel stil'd, An Appeal from the Country, &c.


A.D. 1679. "mongst the distracted Croud they beheld Po-  
 31 Car. II. "pish Troops ravishing their Wives and  
 " Daughters, or dashing out their Childrens  
 " Brains, plundering their Houses, and cut-  
 " ting the Throats of every Protestant, or  
 " Heretick Dog, as they call'd them; That they  
 " should fancy they saw the Tower Guns bat-  
 " tering their Houses about their Ears; and  
 " casting their Eyes towards *Smithfield*, That  
 " they saw their Fathers, Mothers, and near-  
 " est Relations, tied to a Stake in the midst  
 " of the Flames, with Hands and Eyes lift-  
 " ed up to Heaven, screaming and crying  
 " out to that God in whose Cause they died,  
 " with a great deal more of the same Tenor;  
 " from which dismal Catastrophe, the Author  
 " assures them, no Person could preserve  
 " them but the Duke of *Monmouth*, whose  
 " Life and Fortune depending on the same  
 " Bottom as theirs, he would certainly stand  
 " by them, and they ought to stand by him,  
 " remembring, *That he who had the worst Ti-  
 " tle would make the best King*".

Petitions  
 for the  
 meeting of  
 the Parlia-  
 ment dis-  
 courag'd.

This was none of the meanest of *Shaftsbury's* Stratagems to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Throne, and set up his Idol *Monmouth*. But, as the Duke might be most effectually depriv'd of his Right to the Crown by Act of Parliament, and he was very sensible a Majority of the late elected Members were ready to come into his Measures; he put it into the Heads of the Gentlemen of several neighbouring Counties, to petition his Majesty for the speedy assembling of the Parliament; which the King having some Notice of, an Order of Council was issued, requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to put a Stop to such tumultuous Petitions; and

a Pro-

a Proclamation was also published the latter End of *January* for discouraging them; however, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, with several considerable Citizens, was so hardy as to present a Petition to his Majesty from several Thousands in *London, Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent, for the Meeting of the Parliament immediately, that the Popish Lords might be brought to their Tryals. To which his Majesty answered, "That he look'd upon himself to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge what was fit to be done in those Cases; and told Sir *Gilbert* he was sorry to find him engag'd in such a Thing".

A.D. 1678  
32 Car. II.  


Several other Petitions were presented his Majesty on the same Head by Gentlemen of the Counties of *Wiltshire, Essex*, and *Berkshire*, but none of them from the Grand Juries or Magistrates in a regular Manner, for which his Majesty severely reprehended the Petitioners; and when he saw Colonel *Mildmay*, and some others of the old Rebel Brood, who had been pardon'd by the Act of Oblivion, among the *Essex* Petitioners, he said he was not willing to recal Things pass'd, but must put them in mind who had receiv'd the Benefit of that Act, not to take such Courses as might need another.

The King however thought fit to suffer the Parliament to meet on the 26th of *January*, the Day they stood prorogued to; when he told them, That the Distractions and Jealousies in the Kingdom were such, and so heighten'd by the Malice and Industry of ill Men, that he was unalterably of Opinion, That a longer Interval of Parliament would be absolutely necessary for the composing and quieting Mens Minds, and therefore ordered the Parliament

The Parliament  
prorogued  
again.



AD. 1629

32 Car. II.

The King  
sends for  
the Duke  
of York to  
Court.

liament to be prorogued to the 15th of *April*, when he let them know that it would be further prorogued, unless the Condition of his Allies abroad required their immediate Assistance. And on the 28th his Majesty declar'd in Council that he had sent for his Royal Highness, not having found such Effects from his Absence as should incline him to keep him longer from him; That some Questions had been started of late of such a Nature, and of so great Concern to the Duke, as made it reasonable he should be present at the next Session of Parliament. And though his Majesty would take Care of his Rights, it might be for his Satisfaction to be here himself: And he was so sure of the Duke's Compliance with whatever he desired, that his Return should have no Influence on the Publick.

Rejoicings  
at his Re-  
turn.

Whereupon the Duke, having acquainted the Privy Council of *Scotland* that his Majesty had sent for him, and thank'd the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom for the Affection they had shewn him during his Residence there, return'd with his Family to *London* on the 24th of *February*. Soon after which, the King, and his Royal Highness, were invited by Sir *Robert Clayton* the Lord Mayor, to a magnificent Entertainment in the City, when the Recorder congratulated the Duke's Return; and the Night concluded with Illuminations and Bonfires, and other Expressions of the Publick Joy. On the 10th of *March* his Majesty, and the Duke, went to *New-Market*, and were met by the Heads of the University of *Cambridge*, who welcom'd them into that Country; and his Royal Highness receiv'd their Complements on his

Return

Return from *Scotland*. The Faction in the mean Time revil'd and prosecuted all those who would not give Credit to the Popish Plot, and the infamous *Oates* and *Bedloe* had the Impudence to charge the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, before the Council, with discountenancing their Evidence, and to petition he might be brought to condign Punishment; and were indulg'd so far as to have the Matter debated before his Majesty: But his Lordship having abundantly vindicated himself against their malicious Aspersions, was left to take his Course against his Accusers at Law: Nor were Juries so credulous now as they had been; for Sir *Thomas Gascoigne*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman of fourscore Years of Age and upwards, being try'd as an Accomplice in the Plot at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, was acquitted, by a Jury of his Countrymen, though *Barlow* and *Mowbray*, who had been Servants in his Family, swore pretty positively against him in hopes of the Reward promised for such Discoverers by the Government.

A.D. 1680

32 Car. II.

*Oates* and *Bedloe* petition the Council against the Lord Chief Justice.

Sir *Thomas Gascoigne* try'd for the Plot, and acquitted.

On the other Hand *Francis Smith*, and *Langley Curtis*, Booksellers, with *Henry Care*, their Author, were punished for seditious Libels; as was *Benjamin Harris*, for publishing the Libel above-mentioned, intitl'd *An Appeal from the Country to the City*; this last being sentenc'd to stand in the Pillory, to be imprison'd for a Year, and pay a Fine of five hundred Pounds; and the Judges delivering their Opinions in Council, that his Majesty might prohibit the publishing unlicensed News Papers and Pamphlets of News; a Proclamation was published for suppressing all such Papers and Pamphlets.

Some Booksellers punished for seditious Libels.

A Proclamation for suppressing News Papers.

And

A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

Addresses  
of Abhor-  
rence, re-  
flecting on  
the Whig  
Addresses  
for the  
Meeting of  
the Parlia-  
ment.

And now the Loyal Part of the Nation thought fit to declare their Abhorrence of the seditious Behaviour of some of their Fellow-Subjects, in petitioning his Majesty in that irregular and disorderly Manner for the sitting of the Parliament: And the Nation seem'd to be divided into *Abhorrrers* and *Petitioners*, or *Tories* and *Whigs*; the one appearing zealous for the Constitution, and particularly that Branch of it, the *Hereditary Succession of the Crown*; and the other asserting, *That nothing but the Election and Consent of the People could give any Prince a legal Right to the Throne; and that every King might be deposed by his Subjects for Male-Administration.*

The Faction  
declare  
the King  
was married  
to the  
Duke of  
*Mon-*  
*mouth's*  
Mother.

But as the Faction were apprehensive it might be difficult to persuade the Generality of the Nation that the Crown was not Hereditary; a Report was rais'd, and propagated with great Zeal, *That the Duke of Monmouth was, in Reality, next Heir to the Crown; for the King was married to Mrs. Walters, alias Barlow, his Mother; and that Sir Gilbert Gerard had the Marriage Contract in his Custody, which he kept in a black Box; at which the Court appear'd exceedingly alarm'd, and the King thought fit to call an extraordinary Council on the 26th of April, at which he declared the said Report was false, and that he thought himself bound in Honour and Conscience to have that Matter thoroughly examined: Whereupon Sir Gilbert Gerard was summoned to give an Account of what he knew of the Matter: And he declared before the King and his Royal Highness, the Twelve Judges, and all the Privy Council, That he never had any such Writing, nor did he ever see or know of any such; to*  
which



which he subscrib'd his Name : And his Majesty having made strict Enquiry after the Authors of that Report, published a Declaration on the third of *June*, in Confirmation of one of the sixth of *January*, and of another of the third of *March*, which was entered in the Council-Books, and signed by sixteen Privy-Counsellors; *That, for the avoiding any Disputes that might happen in Time to come, concerning the Succession of the Crown, he did declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, That he never gave or made any Contract of Marriage, or was married to Mrs. Walters, alias Barlow, the Duke of Monmouth's Mother, nor any other Woman whatsoever, but to his present Wife, Queen Katherine, then living.* And this Declaration was afterwards enrolled in the Court of Chancery:

*AD. 1680*  
*32 Car. II.*

The King declares he was never married to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother.

The Countess of Powis being indicted of High Treason, in *Easter Term* this Year, upon the Evidence of *Dangerfield*, the Jury brought in the Bill *Ignoramus* : And *Richard Tasborough*, Esq; tried at the King's-Bench Bar for the Popish Plot, was acquitted : Whereupon the Lord *Stafford*, one of the five Popish Lords in the *Tower*, observing that the Credit of the Plot and its Witnesses began to sink, moved to be bailed by the King's Bench ; but lying under an Impeachment in Parliament, the Judges were of Opinion, He could not have the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus Act* : However, Sir *Henry Tihburn*, — *Roper*, and *John Caryl*, Esq; who had been committed for High Treason, were admitted to Bail, *Oates* being the only Witness against them. Mrs. *Cellier* was also tried for the Plot the first Day of *Trinity Term*, and acquitted, the principal Evidence against her, *Dangerfield*, being out-

The Countess of Powis indicted. *Tasborough* acquitted. Lord *Stafford* denied to be bailed.

*Tihburn*, &c. bailed.

Mrs. *Cellier* acquitted.



A.D. 1680

32 Car. II.

Convicted  
on a fresh  
Indict-  
ment, fin-  
ed, and  
pilloried.

Other Pri-  
soners bail-  
ed or dis-  
charged.

*Bedloe* in  
his last Ill-  
ness asserts  
the Truth  
of the  
Plot.

lawed for Felony; and therefore held to be an incompetent Witness: But Mrs. *Cellier* soon after publishing a Narrative of her Trial and Sufferings, entitled, *Malice defeated*, in which were some Reflexions on the Courts of Justice, she was sentenced to pay a Fine of a Thousand Pounds, and to stand three times in the Pillory: Several others who had been committed for the Plot were admitted to Bail; as the Lord *Aston*, Sir *James Symonds*, *Edward Peters*, Mr. *Needham*, and several reputed Priests: And it was thought fit to discharge Mr. *Howard*, Mr. *Hevingham*, the two *Ropers*, Sir *John Gage*, young Mr. *Langborne*, Sir *Anthony Dean*, and Mr. *Pepys*.

The Lord *Castlemain* also was acquitted, on a Trial at the *King's-Bench* Bar the 23d of *June*; the two Witnesses against him, *Oates* and *Dangerfield*, who would have sworn him into a treasonable Correspondence, and charged him as Privy to the famous Consult in the *Strand*, being but little credited by the Jury at this time. The hardened *Bedloe*, another Evidence of the Plot, and of Justice *Godfrey's* Murder, falling sick about this time at *Bristol*, appeared so concerned to support the Credit of the Plot, or rather to wheedle the Government out of more Money, that he signed an Examination, averring the Truth of it before the Lord Chief Justice *North*, then on his Circuit: But possibly the Wretch did not think himself so near his End as he was, for he died about three Days after; nay, it is pretty evident he did not think he was dying, by his desiring his Lordship to move his Majesty to send a Supply of Money; which was probably the true Reason of his desiring the

the Judge might attend him, though he pretended it was his Zeal for Truth. A.D. 1680.

The Election of Sheriffs coming on, as is usual in *London*, on *Midsummer Day*, this Year, the Whigs made great Interest to have two of their Friends chosen, who were zealous Fanaticks; viz. *Slingsby Bethel* and *Henry Cornish*; though the former, as Bishop *Burnet* acknowledges, had approved the late King's Murder in very indecent Terms, and the latter was an Independant; and these Gentlemen were actually elected: But it being observed that they were incapable of acting as Magistrates in any Corporation, on account of their Non-conformity, a new Election was appointed on the 14th of *July*; and *Bethel* and *Cornish* qualifying themselves in the mean time, by taking the Sacrament, and abjuring the Covenant, &c. were chosen a second time, but not without great Opposition of the Loyallists in behalf of Mr. *Box* and Mr. *Nicholson*. Before this time there scarce ever was any Struggling for this troublesome Office; but now the Whigs summoned their utmost *Power* to carry their Point, which they apprehended of the greatest Importance; and so in reality it proved, for they obtained thereby an Opportunity of picking Juries, and by Consequence of skreening their Friends from Justice, and ruining their Enemies at Pleasure.

32 Car. II.

*Bethel* and *Cornish*, two Fanaticks, elected Sheriffs.

In the mean time the Duke of *Monmouth*, being returned from *Holland* without Leave, never went near the Court; but by the Direction of *Shaftsbury*, his Tutor, made a pompous Cavalcade through the City, and several other Parts of the Kingdom, courting the People, and suggesting, like another *Absalom*, That he pitied their wretched State, and was

The Duke of *Monmouth's* seditious Behaviour.

A.D. 1680

32 Car. II.

He goes, with several more, to present the Duke of York for a Popish.

The Duke of York goes to Scotland again.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

ready to defend them against the Tyranny and Oppressions of his Father and his Uncle; and in short, that he would be their Champion against Popery: But the boldest Stroke, and what alarmed the King most, was, his going to the *King's-Bench* Bar, with his Friends *Shaftsbury*, *Russell*, and *Cavendish*, and ten or a dozen more Noblemen and Persons of Distinction, to present the Duke of York as a Popish Recusant; in which, however, he was prevented, by the Chief Justice's dismissing the Grand Jury sooner than was expected: However, the King believing that *Shaftsbury* would have never taken this Step, if he had not been sure of being well supported, and observing at the same time what a Superiority the Faction had in the City, by their carrying the Election of the Sheriffs, it was thought proper that his Royal Highness should retire into *Scotland* again before the Meeting of the Parliament, that there might be the less Pretext for suggesting, that the Court was influenced by the Duke and Popish Councils; and accordingly his Royal Highness began his Journey towards the North on the 20th of *October*.

The next Day, being the 21st, the Parliament met, and was opened by a Speech from the Throne; wherein the King acquainted them, That he had made an Alliance with the Crown of *Spain*, suitable to that he had before made with *Holland*; and as these were the best Measures that could be taken for the Safety of *England*, and the Repose of Christendom; so they could not fail to attain their End, if their Divisions did not render their Friendship less considerable abroad: To prevent which he renewed his Assurances, That nothing



nothing should be wanting on his Part their Hearts could wish, for the Security of the Protestant Religion, that might consist with the preserving the Succession in its due and legal Course of Descent; and, in order to it, recommended to them the further Examination of the Plot, and the bringing the Popish Lords to Trial; for he did not think them or himself safe till that Matter was gone thro': He desired also a Supply for repairing and improving the Fortifications of *Tangier*, a Town of great Importance to the *British* Trade, and which, without their timely Assistance, would infallibly be lost; and concluded, with recommending a perfect Union among themselves, as the readiest Way to render the Nation considerable abroad, and happy at home.

A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

But the Commons were so far from being moved by any thing his Majesty could say, that they gave no manner of Regard to his Speech; and indeed made it their Business rather to distress and perplex his Affairs, than contribute any thing to the Support of his Government, or to the Preservation or Welfare of the Kingdom: They discovered by what Spirit they were moved in their very first Votes, expelling Sir *Francis Withins*, High Steward, and Representative for *Westminster*, for having presented a dutiful Address from that City, testifying their Abhorrence of those undutiful and irregular Petitions that had been obtained for the sitting of the Parliament: And Sir *Robert Cann*, Member for *Bristol*, was expelled, and sent to the *Tower*, for having said, *There was no Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*; nor were they content with punishing their own Members, but voted Sir

The Commons appear very perverse.

They expel the Abhor-  
rers,

And those  
whowould  
not believe  
the Plot.

George



*A.D. 1680. George Jefferys, Recorder of London, Chief Justice of Chester, and one of the King's Serjeants, A Betrayer of the Rights of the Subjects,* for being an *Abhorrer*, as they did many others, making strict Enquiry after those who had advis'd the late Proclamation *against tumultuous Petitioning*: *Bedloe's Widow* was encourag'd in petitioning the House for a Maintenance, in Consideration of her Husband's Services: and Doctor *Tongue*, the first Discoverer of the Plot, was recommended to the King, as worthy of the next Ecclesiastical Preferment that fell; which they would probably have extorted from the King, if *Tongue* had not dyed soon after. They also gave great Encouragement to *Dangerfield, Dugdale, Turberville,* and *Jennison*, fresh Witnesses of the Plot in *England*, as they did to the two *Fitz-Geralds, Hetherington, Murphew, &c.* who came over from *Ireland* to give Evidence of a *Popish* Plot in that Kingdom: all which was done to alarm the People with the Danger of Popery, and to shew the Necessity of Excluding the Duke of *York* from the Succession; which was moved by the Lord *Russel* in direct Terms, on the 26th of *October*, within less than a Week after the Meeting of the Parliament. *Russel* was seconded by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Essex*; and several others made Speeches to the same Effect. Whereupon the House came to the following Resolution, (*viz.*) *That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Hopes of his Coming to the Crown hath given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Designs and Conspiracies against the King, and the Protestant Religion: And that, in Defence of the King's Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion,*

Doctor  
*Tongue*  
recom-  
mended to  
the King  
for Prefer-  
ment.  
*English* and  
*Irish* Wit-  
nesses en-  
couraged.

gion, they would stand by his Majesty with their *A.D. 1680.*  
*Lives and Fortunes: And that, if his Majesty*  
*should come to any violent Death, they would revenge*  
*it to the utmost on the Papists.* And a Bill was  
thereupon ordered to be prepared, to disable  
the Duke of York from inheriting the Impe-  
rial Crown of this Realm; which, being  
brought in accordingly on the 4th of No-  
vember, occasioned several warm Debates.

32 Car. II.

Argu-  
ments for  
the Exclu-  
sion.

Those who argued for the Bill, said, That  
the Excluding the Duke of York, was only  
disinheriting the next Heir; which a King  
and Parliament might do, as well as a private  
Man might disinherit his eldest Son; for those  
who had the whole Right to any Thing, had  
a Power of transferring it to whom they plea-  
sed: The Legislature being in the King and  
Parliament, they might limit the Succession,  
and every Thing else relating to the Nation;  
and if the next Heir could not be disinherited,  
the Life of the reigning King must be ve-  
ry insecure. They added, the Government was  
appointed for the Sake of the Governed,  
and not of the Governors; and therefore,  
all Things relating to it, ought to be mea-  
sur'd by the publick Good and Safety of the  
People. That, among the Governors God  
had appointed the *Jews*, no Regard was had  
to the eldest Son: *Isaac, Jacob, Judah,*  
*Ephraim*, and particularly *Solomon*, were pre-  
ferr'd to those who were next in Succession.  
In several Kingdoms of *Europe*, the Heir Ge-  
neral succeeded, but in *France* and *Germany*,  
only the Male Heir: And tho' by the Oath  
of Allegiance the Subject was sworn to the  
King and his Heirs, the Word Heir imported  
no more, than the Person who ought to suc-  
ceed by Law; and he might be any Person  
who

A.D. 1680. who should be declared next in Succession. That the Heir in *England* had been sometimes set aside, and the Right of Succession transferred to another. *Henry* the VIIth set up the Title of Possession; *Henry* VIII was impower'd to limit the Succession at his Pleasure: And it was declared Treason in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* to deny, that the Parliament could limit the Succession. That the Popish Religion was so contrary to our Constitution, that a Papist seem'd to be under a Disability of holding the Crown. That the Property of the Abbey-Lands would be shaken by the Prospect of a Popish Succession; and the Perfidy and Cruelty of that Religion made it still the more dreaded. The Duke's Temper was also much insisted on; and it was said, he wou'd probably break thro' any Limitations, and call in a Foreign Power, rather than submit to them; and his Revenge for past Injuries, together with the Bigottry of his Religion; would probably render his Administration very grievous: That such Limitations as were propos'd, wou'd be more prejudicial to the Crown, than the Exclusion of one Heir; for those wou'd change the whole Frame of the Government, and set up a Democracy instead of a Monarchy.

Arguments  
against the  
Exclusion.

The Arguments against the Exclusion were, That it was unlawful in itself; Monarchy was of Divine Right, and the Succession could not be alter'd; That whoever was sworn to the King and his Heirs, was sworn to the Person, who was Heir at the Time of his taking that Oath; That nothing could be infer'd from the Changes in the Course of Succession, which had been the Effects of prosperous Rebellions; nor of *Henry* VIIth's reigning



ing in his Wife's Right, and not acknowledging it; That in such a Violent Reign as that of *Henry VIII*, no Wonder Acts were made in Prejudice of the Right Heir; and it was observable, that tho' that King, pursuant to an Act of Parliament, had excluded the *Scottish* Line, yet the Nation had such a Regard to the next in Succession, that without examining the Will, the *Scottish* Line was received; and tho' Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her Hatred to the Queen of *Scots*, procur'd an Act which declared the Parliament had a Power of limiting the Succession; that Matter ended so fatally, and was such a Blemish to her Reign, that much ought not to be built upon it.

Others said, That tho' a Father had indeed a Power of disinheriting his eldest Son, yet he ought never to exert it, but upon a very just Occasion: That it was very hard to disinherit a Prince upon a Point of Conscience, and that before he had declared his Religion: It might be reasonable possibly to secure us from the ill Effects his Opinion might have upon the Nation, and this was fully done by the Limitations; and it would be unjust, to carry it further: That the Protestants had exclaim'd against the Church of *Rome* for encouraging the League in *France*, to exclude the House of *Bourbon* upon Account of Heresy, and now the Charge might be retorted upon us to our Shame: That in the Cases of Infancy, or Lunacy, the Law would appoint a Guardian, but the Right still remained in the right Heir; a Popish Prince was to be consider'd in that State, and those Limitations were no more than the Assigning him Guardians: That there was no Danger of his



A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

breaking thro' them, considering the Zeal and Numbers of the People concern'd to support them: That if he was fully excluded, Foreign Princes might think themselves obliged in Honour to assist him, and it might occasion a new Popish League; whereas, if the Limitations propos'd were agreed to, no other Prince probably would trouble himself with our Laws and Establishment: That tho' many thought the Exclusion unlawful, all would concur in the Limitations, and therefore they were safest. *Scotland* possibly might be against the Exclusion also, and so it might lay a Foundation of War abroad, as well as Distractions among ourselves; and some Regard also ought be had to the King's Honour, who had so often assur'd them he would never consent to an Exclusion.

The King  
demands  
Supplies  
for the De-  
fence of  
*Tangier*.

The Com-  
mons pre-  
sent him  
with a  
peevish  
Remon-  
strance.

The King, in order to divert the House from proceeding in the Exclusion Bill, sent them a Message to put them in mind again of granting a Supply for the Defence of *Tangier*; the preserving that Fortrefs, being of great Importance to the Kingdom: Which was answer'd by an Address, or rather Remonstrance of the Commons, setting forth; That *Tangier* had been several Times under the Command of Popish Governors, and many of the Officers of the Garrison Papists; and that the Popish Party had been so bold and successful at home, that they could only ascribe it to an over-ruling Providence, that his Majesties Reign was still continued over them, and that they were yet assembled to consult the Means of their Preservation: They observed also, that the Continuance and Prorogation of Parliaments had been accommodated to serve the Purposes of the Papists: That

the

the Supplies given his Majesty, had been employed in making War upon a Protestant State, and advancing the dreadful Power of the *French King*, and his Majesty's Subjects suffered to continue in his Service; That the Laws made against Papists had been turn'd against Protestant Dissenters; That a Popish Secretary, *Coleman*, had maintained a Correspondence with *Rome*, and other Foreign Powers; from whence proceeded the late damnable and hellish Plot, which was endeavoured to be smothered, by murdering a Justice of Peace in one of his Majesty's own Palaces; That Popish Officers were put into Commission; That the Parliament had been first prorogued and then dissolved, to prevent the principal Conspirators being brought to their Tryals; That Witnesses had been corrupted, not only by the Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of his Majesty's Brother; That some of the most considerable of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects had Crimes of the highest Nature forged against them (referring to the *Meal-Tub-Plot*) supported by Subornation and Perjury, that they might be destroyed by Forms of Law; That a Grand-Jury had been discharg'd in an unprecedented Manner, lest they should find a Bill against the Duke of *York*; That a Rule of Court had been made to suppress a Pamphlet, call'd, *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome*, because it exposed Popery; And that notwithstanding all the Proclamations for banishing Papists, yet great Numbers of the most dangerous Sort of them still resorted hither: For all which Evils, they suggested, There was no other Remedy, but the Bill of Exclusion; all others would prove vain and fruitless, and rather

A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

expose his Majesty's Person to the greatest Hazard, and the People, with all that was valuable to them, as Men and Christians, to utter Ruin and Destruction: And if his Majesty would yield to them in the Exclusion, they would not only be ready to assist him in Defence of *Tangier*, but do whatever else was in their Power, to enable his Majesty to protect the Protestant Religion, and repel the Attempt of his Majesty's, and the Kingdom's Enemies.

The Bill of Exclusion carried to the House of Lords.

The Bill of Exclusion having pass'd the Commons, was carried up to the Lords, on the 15th of *November*, by the Lord *William Russel*, the Lord *Cavendish*, and Sir *Henry Capel*: Here the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Essex*, and even the Earl of *Sunderland*, tho' Secretary of State, spoke in Behalf of it; and upon the first Reading, it was carried in that House by two Voices; but upon the second Reading, the Debates continued 'till Eleven at Night, the King being present all the Time, and the House dividing, the *No's* were Sixty Three, and the *Yea's* Thirty. So that it was thrown out by a Majority of Thirty three Votes. Of the fourteen Bishops that were present, all of them voted against the Bill, except Three.

Thrown out there by a great Majority.

The Commons address'd the King to turn out his Ministers who voted against the Bill.

The Commons were in the utmost Rage at losing their beloved Bill, and even address'd his Majesty to remove the Lord *Hallifax* from his Councils and Presence for ever, because he spoke against it. They petitioned also for the turning out Mr. *Edward Seamour*, a Member of their own House, and resolv'd to impeach him for the same Reason. Sir *Robert Peyton*, another Member of the Commons, was expell'd for being against the Bill;



Bill; and such Language given him at their Bar, as Gentlemen of any Temper, would not have used to their Slaves. They sent their Serjeant also into several Parts of the Kingdom, to apprehend Gentlemen of Quality, who had been Fore-men of the Grand-Juries, when the Loyal Addresses of Abhorrence were presented his Majesty against tumultuous Petitioning; which was look'd upon to be a Stretch of Power, that none of their Predecessors pretended to exercise, except the *Rump-Parliament*: And indeed several Gentlemen, as they well might, refused to obey their Serjeant. They proceeded afterwards, to Vote the Lord Chief Justice *North* guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanours, for assisting in drawing up the Proclamation against petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament, and resolved to Impeach the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* of High Treason, because he did not give the Credit they expected, to the Witnesses of the Plot. And now they proceeded to make good their Impeachment of High Treason against the Lord Viscount *Stafford*, one of the Popish Lords in the *Tower*, who was brought to his Trial before the Peers, in *Westminster-Hall*, on the 30th of *November*.

A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

They apprehend Gentlemen they had no Authority over.

They impeach the Lord Chief Justice.

The Lord *Stafford's* Trial.

The Managers for the Commons, in Order to prejudice the Court against all Papists in general, as well as this Lord in particular, first gave an Historical Account of all the Plots and Conspiracies, the Papists had been guilty of, either in this Country, or any other; insinuating much on the *Powder-Plot*, the *Massacre of Paris*, *Ireland*, &c.

Then



A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

Smith's  
Evidence.Oates, Dug-  
dale, and  
Turberville  
Witnesses  
against  
him.Their Cre-  
dit object-  
ed to.

Then they produced one *Smith* an *Irish* Priest, and some other Witnesses to give Evidence of the Plot in general, to which the Lord *Stafford* said little, as not being concern'd in it; only he declared, That he did not acknowledge the Pope's Power of deposing Princes, and observed, that there was this Difference between the *Powder-Plot* and the present Plot, That in the former, all the Chief Conspirators confessed the Facts at their Deaths, but now all died with the solemnest Protections of their Innocence. The next Day, Evidence was produced directly against the Lord *Stafford*, when *Oates* deposed, That he had a Patent to be General of the Army: *Dugdale* made Oath, That the Lord *Stafford* offer'd him five Hundred Pounds to kill the King; and *Turberville* another Witness, deposed, That in the Year 1675, the Lord *Stafford* endeavoured to persuade him to kill the King, when he was at *Paris*.

To invalidate this Evidence, the Lord *Stafford* brought Witness to prove, That *Dugdale* was a profligate Fellow; That he had cheated the Lord *Aston*, his Master, and defrauded his Workmen and Servants; and by his Extravagancies run himself several hundred Pounds in Debt, for which he was thrown into Jail, and despair'd of ever getting out but by these pretended Discoveries; and shew'd that he had perjur'd himself in several Parts of his Evidence. He prov'd also, that *Dugdale* had suborned several Persons to make false Oaths, in order to strengthen his own, by other Men's Perjuries. As to *Oates*, he observed, That according to his own Depositions, he went amongst the *Jesuits*, on purpose to betray them, and that he had been several

several Years taking Oaths, and receiving Sacraments in so treacherous a manner, that no Credit could be given to him. He urg'd also, the great Improbability, that so many Conspirators of Quality and Estates, should have trusted *Oates* with their greatest Secrets, and left themselves at his Mercy, and yet suffer him to be reduced to such a Degree of Beggary, as he was when he made his first Discoveries, and made some further Observations on the Contradictions in his Evidence. As to *Turberville*, he proved him perjured, and shewed several Mistakes and Blunders in his Narrative, denying that either himself, or his Servants saw him at *Paris*. He shew'd also, That he was exceeding necessitous and vicious, notorious for prophane Curling and Swearing, and particularly, his having us'd that Expression, *God damn me, there is no Trade good now, but that of a Discoverer.*

The Lord *Stafford* having finish'd his Defence, and the Managers for the Commons reply'd to it (for the Particulars whereof I refer to the *State-Trials*) the Lords adjourned to their House, and coming into the Hall again on the 7th of *December*, The Lord High Steward took the Votes of the Peers; (the Prisoner as the Law requires being absent) after which, he declared, That Thirty one of the Lords were of Opinion, the Prisoner was not guilty, and that fifty five had found him guilty: And the Lieutenant of the *Tower* being ordered thereupon to bring his Prisoner to the Bar, the Lord High Steward acquainted him, that their Lordships had found him guilty of the Treasons whereof he was impeach'd; and being ask'd what he cou'd say, Why Judgment of Death should not pass on him

A.D. 1680.  
3<sup>2</sup> Car. II.

The Lord  
*Stafford*  
convicted.

A.D. 1680. him according to Law? He answer'd, *He had very little to say: He was much surprized at it, for he did not expect it; but God's Will be done, he should not murmur: God forgive those who had falsely sworn against him.* After which, the Lord Chancellor pronounced the usual Sentence in Cases of High Treason; and the King having remitted all the Sentence, but the Beheading, so exceeding merciful and humane did the Lord *William Russel*, and some other Members of the Commons appear, that they questioned his Majesty's Authority to remit the Hanging, Drawing and Quartering: And the Whig Sheriffs applied themselves to the Commons for their Directions in this Matter; who apprehending, that this Difference might be the Occasion of saving the Prisoner, very Magisterially declared, *They were Content, the Lord Stafford should be Beheaded only.*

The Lord  
*Russel, &c.*  
insist on  
his being  
hang'd,  
drawn,  
and  
quartered.

Bishop  
*Burnet's*  
Account  
of this  
Matter.

Bishop *Burnet* relates, That after the Trial of this Peer, he attended him in the Tower, where he made the most solemn Protestations of his Innocence: That he observed he had a Mind to live, but said, he could discover nothing in Relation to the King's Life; protesting, that there was not so much as any Intimation concerning it ever pass'd among them: He adds, that the Lords, *Essex, Russel*, and Sir *William Jones* were sent to the Lord *Stafford* by him (Doctor *Burnet*) to assure him of their Intercession, if he would discover all he knew concerning the Papists Designs, and particularly what he knew concerning the Duke of York; and that they would not insist on his Confessing the Particulars for which he was condemned: Whereupon, the Prisoner promising to discover all he knew,

was



A.D. 1680

32 Car. II.

was brought before the House of Lords, and gave a long Relation of the Consultations of the Papists after the Restoration; and said, It was agreed by them, that their Religion could not be better brought in, than by procuring a Toleration; and, that *the Lord Shaftsbury among others had undertaken to procure a Toleration*: But (such an Interest had that factious Lord in the House at that Time) upon the Mention of my Lord *Shaftsbury's* being engaged in such a Design, the Prisoner was remanded to the *Tower*; where, the Doctor says, he prepared himself to suffer with a constant, undisturb'd Mind; that he supp'd and slept well the Night before his Execution, and dy'd without any Shew of Fear or Disorder, denying all that the Witnesses had sworn against him: *Thus far Bishop Burnet*. But to be a little more particular on this Peer's Behaviour at his Execution: Being brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, on the 29th of *December*, he made a Speech to the People, wherein he protested his Innocence of the Crimes for which he stood Condemned; and averr'd, upon his Salvation, That he never spoke one Word either to *Oates* or *Turberville*, or to his Knowledge ever saw them till his Tryal; and as to *Dugdale*, he never spoke to him but about some trivial Matters, and was never alone with him: And whereas he might have sav'd his Life by making Discoveries, his not making them if he could, was throwing away his Life, and he should be guilty of Self-Murder, which he look'd upon as the most dangerous of all Sins; and added, That he renounced all Indulgencies, Dispensations and Pardons that could be given for Lies, Oaths, and other Crimes *in future*, and declared,

The Lord  
Stafford's  
Execution.



A.D. 1680. that no Power on Earth could authorise a  
 32 Car. II. Man to lift up his Hand against the  
 King.

The Prac-  
 tices of the  
 Faction to  
 procure  
 Witnesses  
 of the Plot.

As this Lord was the last Person put to Death for this *Popish*, or *Presbyterian* Plot, it may not be improper here, to remember some of the Stratagems the Faction made use of, to procure Evidence against the unhappy Sufferers : And it appears that *Corral*, *Prance*, and several more, were threatned and tortured to make them confess what *Shaftsbury* and his Agents dictated to them ; while other poor necessitous Wretches were tempted by extravagant Rewards, to accuse such Persons as were mark'd out for Destruction : But when we observe further, the Promises of Life made to many condemned Men if they would confess the Plot, and that every Man of them refused the Offer, chusing to die rather than become false Witnesses ; when we see Men, to whose Lives no Objection could be made but their Religion, seriously and solemnly denying every Tittle of the Charge in their last Moments ; Can the Oaths of the most profligate Villains, who acknowledged the changing their Religion, receiving Sacraments, and taking Oaths of Secrecy to be with an Intention, to betray the Persons they were engaged with, and that for Years together, be of any Weight ?

Even *Burnet* gives up *Oates* and *Bedloe*, as Men whose Credit could not be rely'd on. And tho' for a Time he is willing to allow *Dugdale* and *Turberville* to be unexceptionable Witnesses, yet we find when they come to testify against *Colledge*, he makes them full as vile as the others, and to deserve as little Credit, as either *Oates* or *Bedloe*.

And

And Page 509, *Burnet* says, “ And now  
 “ *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, who had been the  
 “ Witnesses upon whose Evidence Lord *Staff-*  
 “ *ord* was condemn’d, being within a Year  
 “ detected, or at least suspected of this Vil-  
 “ lany, *I could not but reflect on what he had*  
 “ *said to me, That he was confident I should*  
 “ *see within a Year, that the Witnesses would be*  
 “ *found to be Rogues.*”

It is further observable, That every one of  
 the Witnesses of the *Popish* Plot improved daili  
 in their Evidence, and from some slight  
 Knowledge of it, which they pretended to at  
 first, became positive Witnesses against Persons  
 they had never seen before, and of Facts  
 which they had solemnly protested upon their  
 Oaths they were Strangers to.

We find also, upon the great Encourage-  
 ment and Caresses the first Witnesses met  
 with, others sprung up in all Parts of the  
 Kingdom, pretending to make Discoveries of  
 Plots : Many of whom were so plainly de-  
 tected, that they could obtain no Credit, even  
 in those believing Times.

It was pretended also, That this Design  
 of murdering the King, had been on Foot for  
 many Years, and was become the Common  
 Talk not only all over *England*, but almost  
 in every Kingdom in *Europe*; and every *Popish*  
 Prince was said to be concern’d in it: Great  
 Forces were agreed to be raised, and great  
 Quantities of Arms said to be provided, and  
 Commissions issu’d out, and yet nothing of  
 all this appear’d; which is incredible, if there  
 was any Truth in the Evidence given of these  
 mighty Preparations.

A.D. 1680

32 Car. II.

'Tis observable also, That *Oates* in his first Discoveries made the Pope claim the *British* Dominions as his Right; and that the Duke was to be murdered, as well as the King: And yet afterwards, when he came under *Shaftsbury's* Management, he makes the Duke the principal Conspirator, and makes this a Handle for introducing the Bill of Exclusion; representing, that the Nation could never be safe while there was the Prospect of a Popish Successor.

Let any impartial Man consider these Circumstances, with those other Objections the Prisoners made in their Defence, and he will be easily convinced, that all that Part of the Plot relating to the Assassination of the King was entirely a Fiction. That the *Roman-Catholics* had a Design then; and ever since the Reformation, to have introduced their Religion; and that they had more than ordinary Hopes of effecting it on the Duke of *York's* coming to the Crown, is not to be doubted: But for their conspiring the King's Death, or inviting over foreign Forces to subdue the Kingdom, there does not seem the least Foundation. And this will further appear, when we see *Oates* convicted of Perjury by above forty Witnesses, among whom there were several Protestants of Reputation, who could have no manner of Inducement to give that Evidence, if it had not been true.

The King's  
Speech to  
the Parlia-  
ment.

In the mean time the King made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he again put them in mind of granting a Supply to enable him to perform his Alliances, as well as for the Preservation of *Tangier*; assuring them, That he was ready to concur with them in any Measures for the Security of the Protestant

Reli-



Religion, that might consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent.

A.D. 1680.

32 Car. II.

The Commons, instead of considering the King's Speech, immediately resolved themselves into a Grand Committee, how to secure the Kingdom against Popery and Arbitrary Power; and, after some Debate, voted, That one Means to suppress Popery was, to bring in a Bill to banish all the considerable Papists in the Kingdom; and came to this further Resolution, That as long as the Papists had any Hopes of the Duke of York's succeeding to the Crown, the King's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects were in apparent Danger of being destroyed; and thereupon resolved, That a Bill be brought in for the Association of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and the Preservation of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, and against all Invasions and Oppositions, and for the preventing the Duke of York, or any other Papist, from succeeding to the Crown.

The Commons shew themselves still dissatisfied.

An Association proposed against the Duke of York's Accession;

Two Days after, they resolved, That a Bill be brought in to secure the frequent Meetings of Parliaments; another, That the Judges hold their Places *quam diu se bene gesserint*; and a third, making every illegal Exaction of Money on the Subject, High-Treason: After which they came to consider the King's Speech, and drew up an Address in Answer to it; wherein they again entreat his Majesty to consent to a Bill to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Crown; to a Bill for the Association of his Protestant Subjects,

With several other smart Bills.

An Address to the King to pass them.

with



*A.D.* 1680. with such other Articles as are contained in the aboveſaid Reſolutions: Which Requeſts being granted, they tell his Maſteſty they ſhall be ready to aſſiſt him in the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and fitting out ſuch a Fleet as might maintain the Sovereignty of the Seas, and defend the Nation.

The King's  
Answer.

About a Fortnight after, *viz.* the ſeventh of *January*, the King ſent the Commons a Meſſage in Writing by Sir *William Temple*, in Answer to this Addreſs; wherein he tells them, That he was ſorry to find their Thoughts ſo wholly fixed upon the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine that all other Remedies for ſuppreſſing Popery would be ineffectual; That his Maſteſty was confirmed in his Opinion againſt that Bill by the Houſe of Lords, who rejeſted it; and therefore recommended to them the Conſideration of other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion.

They ad-  
dreſs the  
King to  
alter his  
Ministry.

The Commons, on the Receipt of this Meſſage, reſolved, That until a Bill was paſſed for excluſing the Duke of *York*, they could not give any Supply, without Danger to his Perſon, extreme Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe who entrufteſt them; and that they who adviſed the laſt Meſſage, were Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom; and voted an Addreſs to his Maſteſty, to remove from all Offices of Honour and Profit, and from his Preſence and Council for ever, *George* Earl of *Halifax*, *Lawrence Hyde*, Eſq; *Henry* Marquis of *Worceſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Feverſham*, whom they ſuſpected of giving his Maſteſty that Advice. They proceeded alſo to the following extra-  
vaganſ

vagant Resolutions; viz. That whoever should lend Money, by way of Advance, on any Branch of the King's Revenue, should be judged a Hinderer of the Sitting of Parliaments, and be responsible for the same in Parliament; and that whoever should accept or buy any Tally, or Anticipation, on any Part of the King's Revenue, or should pay such Tally, should be adjudged to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and be responsible therefore in Parliament: And indeed the Faction seemed determined to throw all things into Confusion, rather than not carry the Point of the Exclusion; nor did they leave any Stone unturned to effect it; they even offered the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* six hundred thousand Pounds, to influence the King to consent to the Bill, if we may credit some Writers; and procured a Memorial from the States of *Holland*, to represent to his Majesty the ill Consequences of such a Refusal in relation to his Allies, and the Protestant Religion abroad.

A.D. 1682  
32 Car. II.  
They threaten those who should lend the King Money.

They bribe the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, and procure Memorials from abroad.

These Proceedings exasperated his Majesty to a very great degree, and made him look upon his Condition to be almost parallel to that of his Father in the Year 1641, only he had that great Satisfaction, *That this Parliament was not like that, perpetual*: To put an End therefore to their Importunity for the Exclusion, he resolved to prorogue them on the tenth of *January*; of which the Commons having Notice, met early that Morning, and resolved, That whoever advised the King to prorogue the Parliament, was a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, a Promoter of the *French* Interest, and a Pensioner to *France*; That the Acts made against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended to Protestant

The King resolves to prorogue the Parliament.

Their extravagant Votes thereupon;

A.D. 1682

32 Car. II.

They take  
upon them  
to suspend  
the Laws.

An Act for  
burying in  
Woollen.

The Lord  
Mayor,  
&c. peti-  
tion for the  
Sitting of  
the Parlia-  
ment.

They are  
dissolved.

Sunderland  
turned out.

Other Re-  
moves.

testant Dissenters; and that the prosecuting Dis-  
senter upon the penal Laws, was grievous to the  
Subject, a Weakening of the Protestant Inter-  
est, an Encouragement to Popery, and dan-  
gerous to the Peace of the Kingdom: Which  
Resolves were scarce finished, when the King  
sent for them up to the House of Lords;  
and having passed an Act for burying in Wool-  
len, and one or two more, the King proro-  
gued the Parliament to the 20th instant.

The Lord Mayor, Sir *Patience Ward*, and  
the Common-Council of *London*, two or three  
Days after, petitioned his Majesty, That the  
Parliament might sit again on the Day they  
stood prorogued to; which the King so little  
regarded, that he immediately issued a Pro-  
clamation for dissolving the present Parlia-  
ment, and calling another to meet at *Oxford*  
the 21st of *March*, believing he should find  
the Members in better Temper when they  
were farther removed from the Faction that  
prevailed at this Time in *London*.

Soon after the Dissolution of the Parlia-  
ment, the King, to shew his Resentment  
against those who had promoted the Exclusion  
Bill, made several Alterations in his Mini-  
stry: The Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from  
the Office of Secretary of State, and succeed-  
ed by *Edward Earl of Conway*; the Earls of  
*Essex* and *Salisbury* were dismissed from the  
Council-Board, and the Earls of *Oxford*, *Che-*  
*sterfield*, *Aylesbury*, and *Craven*, sworn of the  
Privy-Council. His Majesty seemed at this  
time to have been convinced of the Mischiefs  
attending a mingled Ministry, where the Par-  
ties drew different Ways, and studied the De-  
struction of each other, more than the Sup-  
port of the Government; and he soon found

his



his Account, in having his Council all of *A.D. 1680.*  
loyal Principles, and the Republicans exclu- *33 Car. II.*  
ded, who constantly drove at the Extirpation  
of his Family, and even of Monarchy itself.  
He no sooner put on a Resolution becoming  
so great a Monarch, and took the Reins of  
Government into his Hands, but the Male-  
contents dwindled away, or renounced their  
rebellious Principles; and an uncommon Tran-  
quillity spread itself over the Face of the  
whole Kingdom. But we are not yet arrived  
at these happy Times; it will be necessary,  
before I enter upon that pleasing Scene, to  
mention the Tempest that preceded the Expi-  
ration of Whiggism.

The Party finding, by the Removes that *A new*  
had been made at Court, that the King was *Parliament*  
no longer to be wheedled or terrified into a *chosen.*  
Compliance with their Republican Schemes,  
mustered their whole *Posse*, and, by their usual  
Arts of Mobbing and Lying, procured almost  
the same Members to be elected again that  
served in the last Parliament; and, not con-  
tent with this, gave their respective Represent-  
atives Instructions how they should behave in *Instructions*  
the ensuing Sessions. The City of *London* be- *given*  
gan this Project of Tutoring their Members, *to the*  
delivering them a Paper at the Common-Hall, *Members.*  
in which they thanked them for their unwea-  
ried Endeavours in the last Parliament to dis-  
cover the Plot, and secure the frequent Meet-  
ing of Parliaments; to assert their undoubted  
Rights of petitioning, and punish those who  
betrayed them; to repeal the Corporation Act,  
and other penal Laws against Dissenters; and  
more especially for their assiduous Endeavours  
in promoting the Bill of Exclusion: And as  
they were well assured they would never con-  
sent



A.D. 1682<sup>r</sup> sent to grant the King any Money, till they were effectually secured against Popery and Arbitrary Power; they resolved, by God's Assistance, to stand by their Members with their Lives and Fortunes: By which they designed to let the King know, that if he would not consent to the Particulars recited in these Instructions, they would compel him to it by Force of Arms: And that they might have their Sovereign the more at their Mercy, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earls of *Essex* and *Shaftsbury*, and twelve or thirteen Lords of that Party, signed a Petition to the King, to assemble the Parliament at *Westminster*; which his Majesty did not think fit to comply with, being very well apprized with what View they desired it.

When the Faction found this Stratagem did not take, they had Recourse to their old Practice of Libelling; and in these, as well as their Petition, suggested, That the Parliament could not act with Freedom at *Oxford*, because they would be in the Power of the King's Guards and Soldiers, who were most of them Papists. Under Pretence therefore of securing themselves against the King's Guards, the City of *London* armed a Body of Horse, and sent down with their Members, distinguishing them by Ribbands or Cockades in their Hats, with the Motto, NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY; as if the King was about to introduce both. The Members from other Parts of the Kingdom also came attended by great Numbers of armed Men; insomuch that this Assembly of the Parliament at *Oxford* resembled (says one) the Rendezvous of an Army, rather than the Meeting of the Great Council of the Nation.

During

During the Interval between the Dissolu-<sup>AD. 1682</sup> tion of the last Parliament and the Meeting of this, another Plot was brought to Light <sup>33 Car. II.</sup> under the Name of FITZHARRIS'S PLOT; but <sup>Fitzharris's Plot.</sup> whether contrived by the Papists or Presbyterians, the Whigs are pleased to doubt. This *Fitzharris* was the Son of Sir *Edward Fitzharris*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*: He was detected by *Everard*, one of his Accomplices, of having framed a treasonable Libel, where-<sup>His treasonable Libel.</sup> in he charges the King, as well as the Duke, with being a Papist, and confederating with the Pope and the *French King*, to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power; and advises the *English* to rise as one Man in their Defence, and sling off those intolerable Riders: That they should blow the Trumpet, stand to their Guard, and withstand the Royal Brothers, as Bears or Tygers; that they should trust to their Swords, in Defence of their Lives, Liberties, Properties, Religion, and Laws: And then enumerates all such Transactions in this Reign as the Whigs esteemed most liable to Censure; as the *Dutch War*, the favouring Popery, the King's keeping Mistresses, &c. which surely must come out of the Whig Forge, since they had suggested the same things in forty other Libels: It can never be ascribed to the Papists, much less to the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, who was the most obnoxious of those Mistresses; as the Faction insinuated, because she had once been a Benefactor to *Fitzharris*: But whoever set this poor Gentleman to work, certain it is, *Bethel* <sup>The Whigs tamper with him in Newgate.</sup> and *Cornish*, the Whig Sheriffs, and several others of their Party, endeavoured to make him an Evidence of the Popish Plot when he lay in *Newgate*, promising to procure his Par-

*A.D.* 1680<sup>o</sup>. don, if he would make any further Discoveries of that Plot; even *Shaftsbury* himself plied him very hard to make him a Discoverer: Whereupon the King thought fit to remove the Prisoner from *Newgate* to the *Tower*. But I come now to give an Account of the Transactions of the Parliament at *Oxford*, who interested themselves much in this Business of *Fitzharris*.

The King's  
Speech to  
his last  
Parliament

The Parliament assembling at *Oxford* the 21<sup>st</sup> of *March*, his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses; wherein he told them, That the unwarrantable Proceedings of the House of Commons were the Occasion of his parting with that Parliament; for as he would never use Arbitrary Government himself, he was resolved not to suffer it in others; it might be wondered he had Patience with them so long, rather than that at last he grew weary of their Proceedings; he thought it necessary to say thus much, that he might not have any new Occasion given him to remember their Miscarriages; but they might see by his calling a Parliament so soon, that no Irregularities in Parliament should make him out of love with them; and he now offered them another Opportunity of providing for their Security, by giving that Countenance and Protection to their Neighbours and Allies, which they could not but know they extremely needed at this Instant: He advised them also, that their just Care for Religion might not be managed and improved into unnecessary Fears, and made a Pretence for changing the Foundation of the Government: Then he put them in mind of the further Prosecution of the Plot, the Trial of the Lords in the *Tower*, the speedy Conviction of Recusants, and, if  
it



it was practicable, the ridding themselves quite of that Party; but advised them not to lay so much Stress on any one Expedient against Popery, as to determine that all others are ineffectual; and, among all their Cares for Religion, to remember, that without the Safety and Dignity of the Monarchy, neither Religion nor Property could be preserved; That he would not depart from what he had so often declared concerning the Succession, but to remove all reasonable Fears that might arise from a Popish Successor, he was content that in such a Case the Administration should remain in Protestant Hands; concluding with this further Advice, That the Rules and Measures of all their Votes might be the known and established Laws of the Land; and he had the more Reason to require the Laws should be their Rule, because he was resolved they should be his own Rule.

The Commons having elected *William Williams*, Esq; a Barrister of *Gray's-Inn*, who was Speaker of the last Parliament, for their Speaker, it was easy to discern, as *Williams* himself observed in his Speech to the Throne, *That they were not inclinable to change their Measures*: And indeed they began where the last Parliament left off; viz. by preparing a Bill against the Succession of the Duke of *York*, and another for the Repeal of the penal Laws against the Dissenters, one of the same Tenor having been mislaid the last Sessions, whereby it missed of receiving the Royal Assent: This they were in a great Heat about, as if it had been mislaid by Design; and they were for calling the Clerk of the House of Lords to an Account. Then they proceeded to examine the Affair of *Fitzharris*; and, in order

A.D. 1689.

33 Car. II.

They go upon the Bill of Exclusion again.

A Bill mislaid.

They impeach *Fitzharris*.

to



A.D. 1681

33 Car. II.

The Lords  
reject it:Which oc-  
casions a  
Difference  
between  
the two  
Houses.

to have the greater Influence over that Wretch, and make him speak what they should dictate, they impeached him of High-Treason: But the Lords finding no manner of Reason why the Prosecution of him should not be left to the ordinary Courts of Law, rejected the Impeachment: Whereupon the Commons appeared no less disgusted with the House of Peers, than they were with the Court. Sir *Thomas Littleton* said, 'The Lords would be a Court or no Court, to serve a present Turn; Sir *William Jones* exclaimed against them, and more particularly against the Bishops, affirming they had no Right to vote in this Case; and Serjeant *Maynard* bawled out, *Their All was at Stake*, if they must not prosecute; and after some other smart Sayings on the same Subject, the House resolved, *That it was the undoubted Right of the Commons, to impeach any Peer or Commoner before the Lords; and that their Refusal to proceed on this Impeachment of Fitzharris, was a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments; an Obstruction to the further Discovery of the Plot; and of great Danger to his Majesty's Person, and the Protestant Religion: And lastly, That if any Inferior Court should proceed against Edward Fitzharris, or any other Person lying under an Impeachment of Parliament, it would be a high Breach of the Privileges of Parliament.* Whereupon the King came on a sudden to the House of Lords on the twenty eighth of *March*, and having sent for the Commons, told them, He perceived there were great Heats between the Lords and Commons; and their Beginnings had been such, as he could expect no good Success of this Parliament; and therefore he thought

thought fit to dissolve them. After which the King immediately took Coach, and drove to *Windsor*, not being without Apprehensions of Danger from the Behaviour of the Commons, and the arm'd Troops they brought with them.

Indeed his Majesty seems to have condescended to the Commons in this Parliament, beyond what could have been expected, in the Expedients that were offered in the Room of the Bill of Exclusion, and which indeed came very little short of an Exclusion, if Mr. *Echard* has given us a true Account of them. This Historian relates, that a Paper of Expedients was read in the House, wherein it was proposed, That the Duke of *York* should be banish'd five hundred Miles from the *British* Dominions: That the whole Government, upon the Demise of the King, should be vested in a Regent, for such Time as the Duke should survive: That this Regent should be the Princess of *Orange*; and in Case he should die without Issue, or with Issue in Minority, then the Princess *Anne* should be Regent: That if the Duke had a Son educated a Protestant, the said Princesses respectively should succeed in the Regency during such Minority, but no longer: That the said Regents however should govern in the Name of King *James II* while he lived: That the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and all Officers, Civil and Military, should take their Oaths to see that Act duely executed: That a Parliament should be called in *Scotland*, in Order to pass an Act of the like Nature there: That in Case the Duke of *York* should come into these Kingdoms, the Crown should immediately devolve on the Regent; and he, and his Adherents be deem'd Traytors: That all

A.D. 1681:

33 Car. II.

The King dissolves them, and goes to *Windsor*.

Expedients proposed instead of the Bill of Exclusion.

Papists

A.D. 1681. Papists of Figure should be banish'd, and  
 33 *Car. II.* their Children educated in the *Protestant* Religion. But even these Expedients were rejected, as insufficient to keep out Popery; tho' some are of Opinion, that if they had been accepted, it might have saved the Nation a Hundred Millions of Money; and we might have been in as desirable a Situation as we were afterwards. But to proceed.

Reasons  
for dissolv-  
ing the  
two last  
Parlia-  
ments.

His Majesty thought fit, on the 8th of *April*, to publish a Declaration, containing, His Reasons for dissolving the two last Parliaments; wherein he says, That having proposed at the Opening of the Parliament held at *Westminster*, the supporting such Alliances as had been made for the Preservation of the General Peace of *Christendom*, recommended the further Examination of the Plot, desired their Advice and Assistance concerning the Preservation of *Tangier*, and offered to concur in any Remedies that could be proposed for the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, that might consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent, he had met with most unsuitable Returns from the House of Commons; Addresses in the Nature of Remonstrances rather than Answers, Arbitrary Orders for taking his Subjects into Custody, for Matters that had no Relation to Privilege of Parliament, strange illegal Votes, declaring divers eminent Persons to be Enemies to the King and Kingdom, without any Order or Progress of Law, any Hearing of their Defence, or any Proof so much as offered against them.

That



That they had Voted, No Man should lend him Money, or buy any Tally of Anticipation, &c. (as has been recited already) thereby exposing the Nation to all Dangers that might happen either at home or abroad, endeavouring to deprive him of the Possibility of supporting the Government, and reducing him to a more helpless Condition than the meanest of his Subjects.

A.D. 1681.

33 Car. II.

*That they also pass'd another Vote against the Prosecution of the Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, (as recited above) Assuming thereby the Power of suspending Acts of Parliament.*

That having for these Reasons dissolved the *Westminster-Parliament*, and assembled another at *Oxford*, He gave them Warning of the Errors of the former; adding, That he would not depart from his Resolution concerning the Succession, but was ready to hearken to any other Expedient for preserving the Established Religion, but he saw that no Expedient would be entertain'd short of a total Exclusion, which he apprehended must be the Occasion of another Civil War, or at least make it necessary to maintain a standing Force, for the Preservation of the Government: That he had Reason to believe, from what had pass'd, that if he could have been brought to consent to the Bill of Exclusion, the Intent of the Commons was not to rest there, but to pass further, and attempt some other great and important Changes, even in his own Time: That the Business of *Fitz-Harris*, who was impeach'd by the Commons of High Treason, and by the Lords referred to the Ordinary Course of Law, was on a sudden carried to that Extremity by the



A.D. 1681. Commons, that there was no Possibility of a Reconciliation; and as they had made use of this Impeachment to delay a Trial, his Majesty had directed against a profess'd Papist, charged with Treasons of an extraordinary Nature, the House of Peers did themselves Right in refusing to give Countenance to such a Proceeding: That, when after, the House was so far transported to Vote the Proceedings of the other to be a Denial of Justice, a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments, &c. without Conferences first had to examine the Grounds of such Proceedings; this put the two Houses out of a Capacity of transacting Business together, and consequently was the highest Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments, and made it absolutely necessary to put an End to that Parliament.

The Declaration  
read in  
Churches.

Which Declaration, being read by his Majesty's Orders in all the Churches of the Kingdom, 'tis observed, mightily reconcil'd the People to his Government, especially when they saw the Weakness of some Answers to it by Sir *William Jones*, and other disaffected Members, who, for want of other Arguments, only made scandalous Reflections on his Majesty, and Monarchy itself: For those Libels suggested, That the King was no more, than the Officer and Servant of the People, and that he ought to transact nothing but by their Advice and Direction; the very Doctrine the Incendiaries went upon, who kindled the last Civil War. But his Majesty soon discovered a Spirit, that subdued all their feeble Efforts to wrest the Government out of his Hands: And the People were so sensible of the Indignities that had

had been put upon him by the Commons, that dutiful Addressees were brought him from all Parts of the Kingdom, That they would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, in the Support of the Established Government against all Sectaries and Republicans; who were known to be the Authors of these Disturbances, and were about this Time exposed in their proper Colours, by Mr. *Dryden* and Sir *Roger L'Estrange*; the first in his *Heraclitus videns*, and the other in his *Observers*.

A.D. 1681.

33 Car. II.

Dutiful Addressees to his Majesty.

*Dryden* and *L'Estrange* expose the Whigs.

The King thought fit, soon after the Dissolution of the Parliament, to confer Honours and Preferments on some of those who had serv'd him faithfully, and distinguished themselves by adhering to his Cause, notwithstanding the Threats of the Commons; particularly, the Honourable *Lawrence Hyde*, Esq; was created Baron of *Wotton-Basset*, and Viscount *Kennelworth*; the Right Honourable *Heneage Lord Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Earl of *Nottingham*; and Sir *Francis Pemberton*, the King's Serjeant, was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on the Resignation of the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*. And now *Fitz-Harris*, who had been the Occasion of such Contests between the two Houses, being Indicted for High Treason in the Court of King's Bench on the 26th of *April*, the Grand Jury made a Scruple of finding the Bill, on Account of his being Impeach'd by the Commons, till the Court acquainted them, That all the Judges of *England* had resolv'd they might lawfully proceed, notwithstanding the Impeachment, and the Votes of the Commons thereupon.

Creations of Nobility.

A.D. 1681.

33 Car. II.

Fitz-Harris's Trial.

Whereupon, the Grand-Jury found the Bill, and *Fitz-Harris* was Arraigned at the Bar, on the 30th of *April*, for High Treason, in framing and publishing the Libel already mentioned. The Prisoner pleaded to the Jurisdiction of the Court ; alledging, That as he stood Impeached by the House of Commons, he could not be try'd in any of the inferior Courts. To which the King's Council demurred, and four great Council were assign'd the Prisoner to argue in maintenance of his Plea ; viz. Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Williams*, late Speaker of the Commons, Mr. *Pollexfen*, and Mr. *Wallop* : And on the 7th of *May*, the Matter was argued at the King's-Bench Bar ; when Sir *Robert Sawyer* the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General Mr. Serjeant *Jefferys*, and Sir *Francis Witten*, Council for the King, declared, That they meddled not with the Privilege of the House of Commons, or the Jurisdiction of the Lords, but only with the Form of the Plea, which they held to be defective ; in regard it did not say, of what Kind of Treason the Prisoner was Impeached ; nor set forth the Impeachment at large, as a Plea to the Jurisdiction ought to do. The Council on both Sides having been heard for several Hours, the Judges took four Days Time to deliver their Opinions ; when the Prisoner being brought to the Bar again, the Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton*, in the Name of the Court, declared, That he and his Brethren had considered of the Plea with some other Judges ; and that himself, Mr. Justice *Jones*, and Mr. Justice *Raymond*, were of Opinion, That the Plea was insufficient, Mr. Justice *Dolben* alone doubting ; and consequently



quently the Plea was over-ruled, and the Prisoner ordered to plead over ; whereupon he pleaded *Not Guilty* ; and because he alledged he had a material Witness in *Holland*, the Trial was put off 'till the Month of *June*.

4.D.1681.

33 Car. II.

In the mean Time, the Faction had prevailed upon *Fitz-Harris* to give Evidence to a Grand-Jury against one *De Puy*, who had been Groom of the Stole to the Duke of *York* : Nor did his Evidence affect *De Puy* alone, but the Queen, the Duke, and the Earl of *Danby* ; charging them with the Popish Plot, and *Godfrey's* Murder : And a Bill of Indictment for *Godfrey's* Murder, was actually found by the Grand-Jury, against the Earl of *Danby* and *De Puy* ; but it was never proceeded upon, *Fitz-Harris* retracting his Evidence soon after, and declaring, That what he had said was with a Design to keep off his Trial till another Parliament : And that he was particularly put upon it to accuse the Earl of *Danby* of *Godfrey's* Murder, because the Crime of Murder was not inserted in his Pardon.

*Fitz-Harris* accuses the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Danby* ;

But retracts his Evidence.

*Fitz-Harris* being brought to his Trial the 9th of *June*, the Whigs did all that lay in their Power to save him, by tampering with the Jury, and otherwise : But the Libel mentioned in the Indictment, was so fully proved by *Everard Smith* and Sir *William Waller*, that he could not deny it ; and only insinuated, that he had been put upon this by some great People about the Court, in order to fix a Plot upon the Whigs ; and summon'd the Lord *Howard*, the Dutches of *Portsmouth*, and her Woman Mrs. *Wall*, into Court, to prove the Suggestion : But they

The Whigs endeavour to save him.

The Dutches of *Portsmouth* called for a all Witness.



A.D. 1681.

33 Car. II.

The  
Whigs  
threaten  
the Jury.

Fitz-Har-  
ris con-  
victed.

He con-  
fesses a  
Conspira-  
cy of the  
Whigs  
against the  
Govern-  
ment.

all deny'd their knowing any thing of the Matter: Only the Dutcheſs ſaid, he had been recommended to her as an Object of Charity, and ſhe had ſometimes relieved his Wants. While this Cauſe was trying, which laſted ſeveral Hours, Papers were continually put into the Hands of the Grand-Jury, diſſuading them from finding the Priſoner guilty; and threatening them if they did; telling them, they muſt answer it in Parliamēt; and that the Nation would never deſiſt, till they had ruined them and their Families: And as they withdrew from the Bar, ſome that ſtood by ſaid, *Find him guilty, if you dare*: Practices ſure to ſtop the Current of Juſtice, that never were practiſed by any but the Whigs, and yet paſs'd by with Impunity, which ſhews the Lenity of that Government. However, the Jury, notwithſtanding all the Menaces of the Faction, found the Priſoner *Guilty*; and he was condemned to be executed as a Traytor.

While *Fitz-Harris* lay under the Sentence of Death, he made Uſe of Doctor *Hawkins*, Miniſter of the *Tower*, as his Confeſſor: To whom he ſolemnly declared, That there was a Deſign laid by the Faction to ſeize the King; to carry him into the City, and there detain him, till he called a Parliament, and paſſed the Bill for the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*, diſmiſſed all thoſe whom they denominated *Evil Counſellors*, and put the Adminiſtration into ſuch Hands as they ſhould direct; and until the Militia and Navy was ſupply'd with ſuch Officers, as they could conſide in, and all their (pretended) Grievances redreſſed: And that the Faction had computed they could raiſe Sixty Thouſand Men at a ſhort Warning: That one *Haynes* was

was tamper'd with, to give Evidence against the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Danby, the principal Persons they struck at : That they urg'd the Prisoner to find them Witnesses of the Duke's being concerned in *Godfrey's* Murder ; promising, that no Money should be wanting to encourage them : That a Paper was put into his Pocket, as he pass'd through *Westminster-Hall*, wherein he was required to speak boldly, and not spare the greatest, *Not the King himself* : And if he did not give Evidence against the Queen, his Royal Highness, the Lord *Powis* and his Lady, the Lords *Arundel*, *Bellasis*, *Peters*, *Danby*, and *Peterborough*, all his Friends would forsake him : That his Wife had informed him, a certain Person was with her from a Great Lord, who desired him to say nothing when he came to die, and they should not value what he had said to Doctor *Hawkins* elsewhere : And if she could persuade him not to declare any Thing against the Party, when he came to be executed, they promised to continue their Allowance to her of three Guineas a Week, and to make her the same Present of three Hundred Guineas on the Day of his Execution, which should have been made him on the Day of his Trial, if he had been acquitted. This Confession he reduc'd to Writing, and left with Doctor *Hawkins* ; but expressed a Concern, that it would occasion his Wife's Allowance to be withdrawn, and prejudice her and her Children.

When he was brought to the Place of Execution, *Bethel* and *Cornish*, the Whig Sheriffs, urging him to discover what he knew of the Popish Plot, he referr'd them to the Paper he had given Doctor *Hawkins* ; and they enquired

A.D. 1681.

33 Car. II.

They tempt him to deny his Confession; but he perseveres in it to the last.

*A.D.* 1681. enquired of the Doctor what Paper that was; but the Doctor having Notice, that they design'd to suppress his Confession, did not think fit to produce it. On the contrary, he desired the dying Man to declare, *If all that he had left with him was true?* Whereupon the Sheriffs said, He had nothing to do to put Questions there. *Hawkins* reply'd, Shall I not bid the dying Man speak the Truth? And *Fitz-Harris* turn'd to him, and said, *Yes, 'tis true*: And the Sheriffs finding they could get nothing out of him, the Executioner did his Office; and his Confession was printed and published, to the great Mortification of the Faction.

His Confession Printed.

*Plunket* try'd for a Plot in Ireland.

About the Time *Fitz-Harris* was try'd, Doctor *Plunket*, the Popish Primate of Ireland, was brought to his Trial at the *King's-Bench* Bar, seven or eight Witnesses being brought over from *Ireland* against him; who deposed, That on his being made Primate by the Pope, he engaged to raise sixty or seventy Thousand Men in that Kingdom, and join with the *French* to extirpate the *Protestant* Religion there: And that he had engaged to surprize *Dublin*, *London-Derry*, and all the Sea-Ports of any Consequence: And had taxed the Popish Clergy in *Ireland* to raise Money for the Maintenance of those Forces; and that the *Spaniards*, as well as the *French*, were invited to invade that Kingdom.

*Plunket* acknowledged, he was Primate of *Ireland*, but denied all the rest of the Charge; shew'd the Impossibility of what was sworn against him; and that the Witnesses were Men of no Credit. However there being a great Number of them, who swore positively to the Facts; he was convicted and executed.

He is convicted and executed.



ted at Tyburn, at the same time that *Fitzharris* was declaring his Innocence to the last. While *Plunket* lay under the Sentence of Condemnation, the Earl of *Essex*, who had been Lieutenant of *Ireland*, informed the King ('tis said) That the Evidence against the Prisoner could not be true; to whom the King answered, *Why did not you attest this at his Trial? It would have done him Good then: I durst pardon no body; his Blood must lie upon your Head, and not upon mine.*

Bishop *Burnet*, that illustrious Writer, as the Authors of *Rapin* stile him, speaking of *Plunket* also, says, "Some lewd Priests, and other *Irish* Evidence, who found how good a Trade Swearing was in *England*, came over, and gave Evidence of a Plot in *Ireland* to bring over a *French* Army, and massacre all the *English* there; that these Men were much cherished by the Lords *Shaftsbury* and *Essex*; but that the latter told him (Dr. *Burnet*) That *Plunket* was a wise, sober Man, chose a quiet Life, and to live in due Submission to the Government; and that an Indictment having been preferred against *Plunket* the Year before, the Foreman of the Jury, a zealous Protestant, told him (*Burnet*) That the Witnesses contradicted one another so notoriously, they could not find the Bill: But now," says *Burnet*; "they had laid their Story better together; and having nothing but *Plunket's* Denial to contend with, he was condemned and executed."

Bishop  
Burnet's  
Account of  
*Plunket*.

*Shaftsbury*,  
College, &c.  
committed  
for a Con-  
spiracy  
against the  
Govern-  
ment.

And now the Government, as well as the Generality of the Nation, being fully convinced, that there was much better Evidence of a Fanatick Plot for the Subversion of the Con-

stitution



A.D. 1681. Institution in Church and State, than ever there was of a Popish Plot; it was thought fit to call some of the Ringleaders and Tools of the Faction to an Account for their rebellious and treasonable Practices: And accordingly the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Stephen College*, called *The Protestant Joyner*, with their Accomplices, *Rouse*, *Haynes*, and *White*, were apprehended, and sent to the *Tower*.

The Grand Jury pack-  
ed by the  
Whig Sher-  
iffs refuse  
to find a  
Bill against  
*College*. *College* was within a few Days indicted for High-Treason, at the *Old Baily* in *London*, and five or six Witnesses produced against him to the Grand Jury; some of whom made Oath, That *College* had declared there was a Design to seize the King at *Oxford*; and that he and others went down thither at the Time the Parliament met there, with that Intent, in case the King did not comply with the Parliament; that they wished the King would begin with them, and if he did not (he said) they would begin with him; and that if any came to disarm the City, nay if *Rowley* (as they called the King) came, he would be the Death of him; with other threatening Speeches: But the Whig Sheriffs took care to pack a Grand Jury of their Friends, who found the Bill *Ignoramus*: However, some Overt-Acts of the Treason appearing to have been committed at *Oxford*, he was sent down thither; and being indicted in that County, the Bill was found, and he was brought to his Trial on the 17th of *August*.

A Bill is  
found  
against him  
at *Oxford*.

His Trial. The Indictment, among other things, sets forth, That on the 10th of *March* the Prisoner did maliciously and traiterously prepare Arms at *Oxford*, and did arm himself, and advise and incite one *Edward Turberville*, and others, the King's Subjects, to arm themselves,

selves, and seize the King's Person : And that he also declared, That nothing of Good was to be expected from the King, he minded nothing but Beastliness, and the Destruction of his People, endeavouring to establish Arbitrary Government and Popery; That the Prisoner had published and dispersed several seditious Libels and Pictures, reflecting on the King and Government: All which, and a great deal more, was fully proved by *Dugdale, Turberville, Smith, &c.* on whose Evidence the Lord *Stafford* was convicted: And *College* himself confessed, he came down to *Oxford* with Arms to defend the Parliament; which Circumstance alone was High-Treason; and he was convicted, condemned, and executed accordingly. But I refer the Reader to the *State Trials* for his Satisfaction in this Case; and shall only observe here, that it appeared in the Course of the Evidence, that the Duke of *Monmouth, Shaftsbury*, and the Heads of the Faction, were very intimate with the Prisoner, and employed him as their Agent, to amuse and impose upon the Populace, as well as in the Way of his Trade. It is observable also, that the Prisoner himself had endeavoured to support the Credit of *Dugdale* when he was a Witness against the Lord *Stafford* in the Popish Plot; though he objected at his own Trial, That *Dugdale* was not a credible Witness. But no body endeavoured more to discredit the Witnesses produced against *College* than *Timus Oates*; particularly *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, who had been the great Supporters of *Oates's* Testimony in the Popish Plot; and that adored Divine, once styled *The Saviour of the Nation*, becoming generally detested, an Order of Council was

He is convicted and executed.

A.D. 1681. made for turning him out of his Lodgings at  
 33 Car. II. *Whitehall*, and taking away his Salary.

The King  
 relieves the  
*French* Pro-  
 testants.

The Persecution of the Protestants growing very hot in *France* about this Time, and great Numbers of them flying into *England* for Refuge, the King declared in Council, That he thought himself obliged, in Honour and Conscience, to relieve all such afflicted Protestants; offered to make them Denizens without any Charge, and promoted Collections all over *England* for their Maintenance and Support: He also granted a Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Halifax*, and some other Persons of Distinction, to dispose of all such Ecclesiastical Preferments as were in the Gift of the Crown, that they might be conferred on those that best deserved them.

A Com-  
 mission to  
 dispose of  
 the Livings  
 in the Gift  
 of the  
 Crown.

The Vice-  
 Chancellor  
 of *Cam-*  
*bridge* his  
 Speech to  
 the King,  
 on the Si-  
 tuation of  
 his Affairs.

The latter End of the Year, the King, as usual, went down to *New-Market*; where he was met by Dr. *Gower*, the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and the Heads of the University, and congratulated on the happy Situation of his Affairs: In this Speech the Vice-chancellor says, "That they beheld, with the  
 "greatest and sincerest Joy, the generous  
 "Emulation of their Fellow-Subjects, con-  
 "tending who should first and best express  
 "their Duty and Gratitude to their Sove-  
 "reign, at a Time when the seditious Endeavours of unreasonable Men had made it  
 "necessary to assert the ancient Loyalty of  
 "the *English* Nation, and make the World  
 "sensible, that they did not degenerate from  
 "those prime Glories of their Ancestors,  
 "Love and Allegiance to their Prince;" and adds, "We still believe and maintain, That  
 "our Kings derive not their Titles from the  
 "People



“ People, but from God; That to him only they  
 “ are accountable; That it belongs not to Subjects  
 “ either to create or censure, but to honour and  
 “ obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a  
 “ fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession,  
 “ which no Religion, no Law, no Fault, or For-  
 “ feiture, can alter or diminish.

A.D. 1681.  
 33 Car. II.

To which the King answered, He was fully  
 satisfied with the Loyalty of the University;  
 That he should constantly defend the Church  
 of England, whatever Representations should  
 be made to the contrary; for there was no  
 Church in the World that taught and practi-  
 sed Loyalty so conscientiously as that did;  
 adding, That he and his Queen would shortly  
 make the University a Visit: And coming  
 over accordingly to Cambridge on the 27th of  
 September, they were magnificently entertained  
 at St. John's College, of which Dr. Gower, the  
 Vice-Chancellor, was then Master.

The King's  
 Answer.

But however loyal the Universities, and the  
 rest of the Kingdom, might shew themselves  
 in their Addresses, the Faction appear to have  
 had a considerable Influence still in the City;  
 for they elected Thomas Pilkington and Samuel  
 Shute, two zealous Whigs, for their Sheriffs  
 at Midsummer this Year; and it was with great  
 Struggling and Difficulty that the Tories pro-  
 cured their Friend Sir John Moor to be chosen  
 Lord Mayor the following Michaelmas.

Pilkington  
 and Shute  
 chosen  
 Sheriffs.

This Election of Whig-Sheriffs again gave  
 great Encouragement to the Faction; for  
 they were sensible they might now continue to  
 revile and insult the Government with Impu-  
 nity: And accordingly we find that when  
 Rouse, a notorious Traytor, was indicted for  
 treasonable Words in London, though there  
 were eight Witnesses to prove the Indictment,  
 the

Rouse and  
 Shaftsbury  
 acquitted  
 by Igno-  
 rance  
 Juries.



A.D. 1681

33 Car. II.



the Grand Jury returned it *IGNORAMUS*. But the greatest Instance of the Partiality of the *London* Juries was, their refusing to find an Indictment against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which was also proved by eight Witnesses, and a treasonable Association produced in Court that was found in his Study.

The Faction triumph.

At this Escape of the Earl's the Whigs shouted for Joy; and it was scarce in the Power of the Judges to protect the Witnesses from being torn in Pieces; Bonfires were made as for a Victory, and the Air rang with the Cries of, *A MONMOUTH*, *A SHAFTSBURY*, *A BUCKINGHAM*, their great Faction's Leaders. I shall only observe here, that by the Association abovementioned the People promise to transfer their Allegiance from the King to the Parliament; and by the concurrent Testimony of the Witnesses, who were several of them Men of good Credit, it appears, that it was determined by *Shaftsbury* and his Party to have seized on the King at *Oxford*, to have brought him to *London*, and compelled him to have yielded to their Demands, if the Parliament had not been dissolved sooner than they expected; for Troops were actually raised in *London* and other Places, besides those who went down with the Members, and only waited for the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Orders to march. But I refer to the *State Trials* for a further Account of these Proceedings.

They had determined to seize the King at *Oxford*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* assert the Hereditary Right of the Crown.

In the mean time his Royal Highness being constituted his Majesty's High Commissioner for *Scotland*, held a Parliament in that Kingdom; where an Act passed, *Acknowledging and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland*; whereby they recognize and declare, "That the said Crown is, " by

“ by inherent Right, and the Nature of the A.D. 1681.  
 “ Monarchy, as well as by the fundamental  
 “ and unalterable Laws of that Realm, transf- 33 Car. II.  
 “ mitted and devolved, by lineal Succession,  
 “ according to Proximity of Blood ; and that  
 “ no Difference in Religion, no Law or Act  
 “ of Parliament, can alter or divert the Right  
 “ of Succession, and lineal Descent of the  
 “ Crown to the nearest and lawful Heirs ;  
 “ and it is therefore declared to be High-  
 “ Treason, by Writing, Speaking, or any  
 “ other Way, to endeavour the Alteration,  
 “ Suspension, or Diversion of the Right of  
 “ Succession.” Another Act also passed, ra-  
 tifying all former Laws for the Security of the  
 then established Episcopal Church ; to which  
 was added a Test for the Security of Reli-  
 gion, to be taken by all Officers in Church  
 and State, Ecclesiastical Persons, Graduates  
 in the Universities, &c. By this Test, *All Re-* A Test to  
be taken  
in Scot-  
land.  
*sistance was condemned, the Covenant renounced,*  
*and it was declared unlawful for the People to*  
*meet and treat of any Matters, Ecclesiastical or*  
*Civil, but by the King's Permission ; or to endea-*  
*avour any Alteration of the Government, either in*  
*Church or State :* Which some few of the  
 Clergy refusing, lost their Preferments. Of  
 the Laity none more opposed the making  
 this Act, or censured it when it was made,  
 than the Marquis of *Argile* (Son of that *Ar-*  
*gile* who was executed soon after the Resto-  
 ration for High-Treason) This Nobleman it  
 seems had been very free in censuring and ri- *Argile* con-  
victed of  
High-  
Treason  
for preju-  
dicing the  
People  
against it.  
 diculing this Act ; which, by the Laws of  
*Scotland*, is High-Treason ; and was there-  
 upon convicted by his Peers, and condemned  
 to die : Which Bishop *Burnet*. and his Bre-  
 thren the Whigs look upon as a very great  
 Hard-

A.D. 1681. Hardship; though he was not executed till found guilty of other notorious Treasons several Years afterwards.

33 Car. II.

The Account that Dr. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, gives of this Matter is as follows: He ſays, “ The Parliament was no ſooner  
“ adjourned, but the Earl of *Argile*, firſt at  
“ *Edinburgh*, next in traversing ſeveral Shires,  
“ did make it his chief Buſineſs to inſinuate  
“ every where, into the Minds of the Clergy  
“ and Laity, the moſt malicious Prejudices  
“ imaginable againſt the whole Tenour of the  
“ Teſt.

“ And afterwards on his Return to *Edin-*  
“ *burgh*, he often preſumptuouſly declared,  
“ he would either not take it at all, or take  
“ it only with a Reſerve of his own Explana-  
“ tion; which he put in Writing, and diſ-  
“ perſed; the Contrivance of it being ſuch,  
“ as diſſolves all the Obligations of the Oath,  
“ and makes his own preſent Fancy and pri-  
“ vate Opinion the only Standard whereby  
“ he meant to be guided in all the publick  
“ Duties of his Loyalty and Allegiance.

“ At length his Maſteſty's High Commiſ-  
“ ſioner the Duke, and the Privy Council of  
“ that Kingdom, having been well informed  
“ of the Earl's ſeditious Carriage in City and  
“ Country, and being fully confirmed in  
“ their Judgments and Conſciences of his  
“ traiterous Purpoſes in that fallacious and  
“ equivocating Paraphraſe on the Teſt, which  
“ he owned in their Preſence, perverting  
“ thereby the ſound Senſe, and eluding the  
“ Force of his Maſteſty's Laws, in order to  
“ ſet the Subjects looſe from their Obedience,  
“ and to perpetuate Schiſm in the Church,  
“ and Faction in the State: Upon theſe  
“ Grounds



*A.D. 1681*

*33 Car. II.*

“ Grounds he was deservedly prosecuted by  
 “ his Majesty’s Advocate, before the sove-  
 “ reign Justice Court, according to the known  
 “ Laws of his Country; and after a full  
 “ and equal Trial, he was found guilty of  
 “ Treason by the learned Judges, and a Jury  
 “ not only of his Peers, but also many of  
 “ them his own nearest Relations. Soon after  
 “ Judgment given, albeit the King was far  
 “ from any Thought of taking away his Life;  
 “ and that no further Prejudice was designed  
 “ against him, but the Forfeiture of some  
 “ Jurisdictions and Superiorities, which he  
 “ and his Predecessors had surreptitiously ac-  
 “ quired, and most tyrannically exercised;  
 “ besides the Disposal of Part of his Estate,  
 “ to pay his just Creditors, and some few Do-  
 “ natives to those whom he and his Father  
 “ had formerly ruined for their Fidelity to  
 “ his Majesty; the Surplusage was intended  
 “ entirely to return and descend to his Fami-  
 “ ly: Yet the said Earl, abusing the great  
 “ Freedom indulged him in Prison (which he  
 “ enjoyed as largely after his Condemnation  
 “ as before) fled from his Majesty’s Mercy;  
 “ the Knowledge of his own Guilt not suffer-  
 “ ing him to venture on the Clemency where-  
 “ of he had before participated so plentifully  
 “ when he was under the like Sentence of  
 “ Condemnation.

“ The King, however, notwithstanding  
 “ this new Provocation, still retained the same  
 “ benign Thoughts of favouring his Wife and  
 “ Children; and before it was known that  
 “ the said Earl had more Debt on his Estate  
 “ than the full Value of it amounted to,  
 “ (which really was his Case) his Majesty  
 “ was graciously pleased, in one Royal Lar-  
 “ Vol. XXIII. R ges,



A D. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ . " gess, to give thrice more of the Inheritance  
 " to his Posterity, than their Father could  
 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  Car. II. " lawfully have done, had it never been for-  
 " feited.

" But how ill he deserved or requited so  
 " many Acts of Grace and Bounty, will ap-  
 " pear by the Sequel of his Behaviour after  
 " his Escape; for instead of doing what his  
 " Accomplices and Dependants gave out he  
 " intended, That he would humbly cast him-  
 " self at his Majesty's Feet, and implore  
 " his Pardon (which he, of all Men living,  
 " had no Reason to think desperate) he is  
 " no where to be found but associating with  
 " his Majesty's implacable Enemies, in the  
 " Head of new Machinations of Treason,  
 " employs his Liberty abroad in maintaining  
 " traiterous Correspondences at home, with  
 " restless Malice exciting the wicked Conspi-  
 " rators of both Kingdoms to a fatal Union  
 " against the Life, Government, and Family  
 " of his Sovereign and Benefactor.

" And all this is to be proved upon him,  
 " by Arguments as clear as the Sun, by the  
 " Credit of his own authentick Letters, and  
 " by the plain Depositions of his principal  
 " Messengers and Agents in the whole Vil-  
 " lany.

" It appears also in his Trial, that his Jury  
 " consisted of eleven of the principal Nobil-  
 " ity, and four Lairds; and that they were  
 " unanimous in their Opinion, That the  
 " Earl was guilty of High-Treason by the  
 " Laws of Scotland." But to return to Eng-  
 " land.

His Majesty, who was always extremely  
 pleased with ingenious and useful Inventions,  
 thought fit to testify his Approbation of one  
 of

of Sir Samuel Moreland's at this time, who had framed a Machine, that, by the Strength of eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of sixty Barrels an Hour, from the River *Thames* to the Top of *Windfor* Castle, and sixty Foot higher. This Experiment was frequently repeated before the King, the Queen, and foreign Ministers, and gave his Majesty so much Satisfaction, that he gave Sir Samuel a Medal set round with Diamonds, on one Side whereof was his Majesty's Effigy, and on the other the following Inscription; CAROLO II. Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regi, Samuel Morlandus, Eques Auratus & Baronettus, MAGISTER MECHANICORUM, in rebus adversis summo vitæ periculo, in prosperis sælici ingenio frequens adfuit: And he was afterwards constituted Master of the Mechanicks, and ordered to wear the said Medal fastened to a blue Ribbon on his Breast as long as he lived.

A.D. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
34 Car. II.  
A Water-Engine of Sir Samuel Morland's.

He is made Master of the Mechanicks.

About the same time Sir George Carteret, late Vice-Chamberlain of the Houthold, in regard of his eminent Services to the Crown, and his Country, was created Baron Carteret of *Hawnes* in the County of *Bedford*. But to return to Publick Affairs. Notwithstanding the Grand Jury refused to find the Bill against the Lord *Shaftsbury*, few People doubted but the Association found in his Study was framed by him, and intended to be taken by the Faction; there being nothing contained in it, but what they had often avowed and maintained the Lawfulness of. Whereupon Loyal Addressees were daily presented from the Counties and Corporate-Towns, declaring their Abhorrence of the Principles contained in the Association; and promising to stand by

Sir George Carteret made a Baron.

Addressees against Shaftsbury's Association.

*A.D.* 1682. his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes,  
 34 *Car. II.* against the Enemies of Monarchy and the  
 Constitution.

Passages in  
 some of  
 them.

The Justices of *Middlesex* take notice in their's, of the Multitude of affectionate Addresses that came up from all Parts of the Kingdom; and observe from thence, That his Majesty's Enemies were neither so numerous nor formidable as they were by some apprehended to be; and desire, That, as he had now no Cause to fear them, he would never be persuaded to trust them.

In the Address from the Society of the *Middle-Temple*, the Lawyers say, They thought themselves obliged, by their Profession, to declare their Sense of that execrable Paper purporting a *Traiterous Association*; and said, It was their Opinion, That it contained gross and apparent Treasons, more manifestly tending to the Ruin of his Majesty's Dominions, than the old hypocritical SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT; and that those who promoted or countenanced it, by refusing to find the Indictment against the Author, could have no other Design, than to usurp an arbitrary and tyrannical Dominion over his Majesty, as well as his Subjects.

In the Address from the City of *Bristol*, the Citizens declare their Abhorrence of all *Covenants* and *Associations* whatever, without his Majesty's Approbation; especially that treasonable one seized in the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Closet; wherein the *securing the Protestant Religion, and the Defence of the King, was the Pretence*; but the *Subversion of the Established Religion, and the final Destruction of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, was the real Design*: And this was to be brought about by de-  
 volving

The Sum  
 of the As-  
 sociation.



volving his Majesty's Crown and Sceptre, into the *A.D. 1685.*  
 Hands of the major Part of the Members of *34 Car. II.*  
 both Houses, who should subscribe that Association, after the Parliament was actually dissolved:  
 Concluding, that they would assert and defend  
 the Rights and Prerogatives of his Majesty  
 and his lawful Successors, in Opposition to all  
 Unions and Societies made to the contrary.  
 Nor could they think that Man fit to be a  
 Representative in Parliament, that would not  
 disown such Associations.

And indeed it appears even by the Con-  
 cessions of the Whigs themselves, and par-  
 ticularly the Continuers of *Rapin*, That the  
 Faction designed to go greater Lengths than  
 their Predecessors in *Forty One*: For they did  
 not only propose to have terrified the King  
 and the House of Lords into a Compliance  
 with them by their Mobs, if the last Parlia-  
 ment had been held at *Westminster*; but to  
 have seized his Majesty's Person, and com-  
 pelled him to have passed the Exclusion Bill,  
 and to have repealed all the Laws against the  
 Dissenters, and to have displaced his Ministers,  
 and introduced the Heads of the Faction in  
 their Stead; and indeed to have made the  
 King as well as his Subjects their Slaves:  
 And whether his Person would have been  
 secured from open or secret Violence if they  
 had succeeded, may be gathered from the U-  
 sage his Father met with.

And as the Dissenters were known to be  
 the Authors and Promoters of this Project,  
 and appeared bare-faced, in all those Tumults  
 that had been raised in the City against the  
 Government; his Majesty could not think he  
 was obliged, either in Honour or Con-  
 science, to suspend the Laws in their Favour:  
 Nor

The Laws  
 suffered to  
 take their  
 Course  
 against the  
 Dissenters,  
 the Au-  
 thors of  
 the Tu-  
 mults.



A.D. 1681.

34 Car. II.

The Con-  
stitution in  
no less  
Danger  
from the  
Dissenters.  
than from  
the Pa-  
pists at the  
Revoluti-  
on.

Thynne as-  
sassinated.

Nor is it any Wonder, when the People saw them playing the same Game they had done in Forty One, and endeavouring to subvert the Government in Church and State ; that they were glad to find them prevented by a due Execution of the Laws : And if ever there was a Time proper to preach up the Doctrines of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience to Princes, sure this was it, when the People were taught, they owed their Sovereign no Duty or Allegiance ; but that he was indeed their Subject, and ought to be governed by them : There was no Manner of Occasion to mention any *Exceptions* to the General Rule at such a Time ; tho' it is allowed, there are *Exceptions* to be made to it ; of which the Revolution is an Instance, which was brought about by the same Men that thus preached up Passive Obedience. And indeed I cannot but applaud the Wisdom of the Church of *England*, in distinguishing when the Constitution is really in Danger, and when it is not. They saw evidently, that both Church and State were in imminent Danger of being destroyed by the Dissenters and their Adherents, in the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II* ; and by their Doctrine and Practice bravely supported it. And when they saw it in equal Danger, from the Papists in the succeeding Reign, they as resolutely defended the Constitution against them, and that without any Reflection upon their Loyalty ; as will be made appear in treating of the Revolution.

During these Contests between the Whigs and Tories, Mr. *Thynne*, a Gentleman of a great Estate, was publickly assassinated in his Coach, as he pass'd through one of the great

great Streets, called the *Pall-Mall*. And as he was extremely devoted to the Whigs, his Party gave out, That this was another Plot against the Protestant Religion; suggesting, That a general Massacre was still to be expected from the Papists. But the Matter soon appeared to be no more than a Love Affair; and that Mr. *Thynne* was murdered by some of Count *Coningsmark's* Servants and Dependants, whose Rival he had been, in an Amour with the Lady *Ogle*; of which Mr. *Echard* gives the following Relation. He says, "That *Josseline*, the last Earl of *Northumberland* of the Family of *Piercy*, dying in the Year 1670, left no Issue, besides *Elizabeth*, his Daughter and sole Heir: (at the Time of his Death about four Years of Age) Which young Lady being so great a Fortune, was in her Minority married to *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, Son, and Heir apparent to the Duke of *Newcastle*; who dying soon after such Marriage, left her a Virgin-Widow. After which, many aspir'd to the Happiness and Advantage of a second Match with this fine young Lady; among whom was a *German* Lord, called Count *Coningsmark*; who sojourning in *England*, was honourably countenanced by the King himself. But the young Lady, chiefly by the Means of her Grand-Mother, as is reported, was secretly married the last Summer to *Thomas Thynne* of *Longleet*, Esq; one who had been a Member in several Parliaments, a Gentleman of great Note both in City and Country, having a Noble Estate of Ten Thousand Pounds *per Annum* given him by an Uncle. This Marriage, it seems, was not made so

" well

A.D. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

34 Car. II.

“ well to the Satisfaction of all Parties, but  
 “ the young Lady was prevailed with, the  
 “ last *Michaelmas*-Term, to convey herself  
 “ privately into *Holland*; and this was done  
 “ before her Husband had ever bedded  
 “ with her. Hereupon, the Town was alarm-  
 “ ed with the Approach of a mighty Suit  
 “ at Law, concerning the Validity of the  
 “ Match; and the best Civilians of Doctors-  
 “ Commons were engaged and retained ei-  
 “ ther on the one Side or other: And not  
 “ only so, but Count *Coningsmark*, who had  
 “ left *England* some time before, began afresh  
 “ to concern himself, and came over to *Lon-*  
 “ *don* in Disguise. He had already sent two  
 “ Challenges to Mr. *Thynne*, by a Dependant  
 “ of his, called Captain *Uratz*: But instead  
 “ of answering himself, he sent six Men af-  
 “ ter him into *France* to kill both the Count  
 “ and the Captain: But they both escaped in  
 “ the Conflict, and killed two of themselves,  
 “ as the Captain afterwards declared. How-  
 “ ever it was, on *Sunday* Night, the 12th  
 “ of *February*, Mr. *Thynne*, as he was passing  
 “ the *Pall-Mall* near the *Hay-Market* in his  
 “ Coach, was encountred by three Men on  
 “ Horseback; one of which discharg’d a  
 “ Musquetoon into the Coach, and with two  
 “ Brace of Bullets mortally wounded him;  
 “ and having performed this desperate Act,  
 “ they rode away, and made their Escape.  
 “ The King having been informed of what  
 “ happen’d, immediately gave Orders for  
 “ the stopping all Persons, who could not give  
 “ a good Account of themselves in the sever-  
 “ ral Ports; and for making diligent Search  
 “ in Town, in order to discover the Assas-  
 “ sins. The Diligence of those who made the  
 Search,



“ Search was so successful, that, upon some  
 “ Information given them; they traced the  
 “ Murderers to their several Lodgings, and  
 “ there apprehended them, and brought them  
 “ the next Day before the Council, which  
 “ was extraordinarily assembled for that  
 “ Purpose.

A.D. 163 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

34 Car. II.

“ The Chief of them being examined,  
 “ readily confessed the whole Fact; and  
 “ said, he was a *German*, by Name *Uratz*,  
 “ and a Captain of Foot. That he had ac-  
 “ companied *Charles-John Coningsmark* in his  
 “ Travels, and came with him into *England* :  
 “ That the Friendship and Acquaintance he  
 “ had with him, and the Favours he had  
 “ received from his Family, had made him near-  
 “ ly sensible of the Affronts that Mr. *Thynne*  
 “ had put upon the Count by his Discour-  
 “ ses and otherwise; and therefore resolved  
 “ to take Satisfaction of him : And being in-  
 “ formed on *Sunday*, That Mr. *Thynne* was  
 “ gone abroad in his Coach, he took Horse  
 “ with a Friend and a Servant of his own,  
 “ who was provided with a Musquetoon, and  
 “ themselves arm'd with Swords and Pistols :  
 “ That meeting his Coach in the *Pall-Mall*, he  
 “ rode up to it, and bid the Coachman stand,  
 “ intending fairly to fight Mr. *Thynne* : But  
 “ his Servant not rightly apprehending what  
 “ he said, discharged his Musquetoon upon  
 “ Mr. *Thynne* ; whereupon they made their  
 “ Escape. Six Days after, Count *Conings-*  
 “ *mark* was taken at *Gravesend* in a Disguise,  
 “ intending to embark on a Vessel that was  
 “ going out. He was next Morning brought  
 “ to Town; and examined in Council before  
 “ the King; who referred the Matter to the  
 “ Lord Chief Justice; and his Lordship com-  
 “ mitted



A.D. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

34 Car. II.

mitted him Prisoner to *Newgate*. On the 28th of *February*, the three Principals, Captain *Christopher Uratz*, Lieutenant *John Stern*, and *George Boroski* a *Polander*, were together with the Count tried at the *Old-Baily*; where the three first were convicted and condemned: But the Count, who was indicted as Accessary, was with great Difficulty, and perhaps no less Partiality, found *Not Guilty*, and acquitted. The three condemned Men were executed in the *Pall-Mall*, the Lieutenant and the *Polander* being very penitent; though their Notion had for some Time been, That Obedience to the Orders of their Superiors would clear any Man from Guilt. But the Captain seemed to continue in his first Opinion, That God had a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require Punctilio's of Humility at their Hands; and that it was absurd to think, that so many Thousand Gentlemen in the World, that stood upon their Honour and Reputation as much as he, should be for ever damn'd, because they could not stoop to Things, that would spoil the Figure they made in the World.

As this Accident made a great Noise, so it was at first look'd upon as a Party Cause, Mr. *Thynne* being so deeply engaged with those now called the *Whigs*; and the more upon the Account of the Acquittal of Count *Coningsmark*. But some look'd upon it as a Judgment upon him, for his treacherous Practices to another Lady, noted for her Modesty and Virtue; who had bravely resisted the Temptations of a vicious Court, and more particularly the

“ the Courtship of the Duke of *Monmouth*, as *A.D. 1682*  
 “ being a married Man. The Duke enraged  
 “ at the Disappointment, it seems, applied *34 Car. II*  
 “ himself for Revenge to an unmarried Man,  
 “ his Friend, Mr. *Thynne* ; who, by the Help  
 “ of his great Estate, and his honourable  
 “ Proposals and Pretensions, as it is said,  
 “ found Means and Opportunity at length,  
 “ basely to betray her Virtue, and then  
 “ shamefully abandoned her. This was fully  
 “ remembred after his Death ; and it be-  
 “ came a Sort of a Saying, *That if he had*  
 “ *married the Lady he had bedded, or bedded the*  
 “ *Lady he had married, he had never come to this*  
 “ *untimely End.* As to the Lady *Ogle*, who  
 “ was an innocent but unfortunate Occasion  
 “ of this Disaster ; she was afterwards mar-  
 “ ried to the Duke of *Somerset*, and soon  
 “ shewed to the World, that her Worth and  
 “ Reputation was above all Blemish.”

The Season for Horse-racing approaching,  
 the King and Court went down to *New-*  
*market* ; and soon after, his Royal Highness  
 the Duke of *York* arrived there from *Scot-*  
*land*, having landed at *Yarmouth* the 10th of  
*March*. Some few Days after, Doctor *Caga*  
 the Vice-Chancellor, with the Heads of the  
 University of *Cambridge*, attended his Maje-  
 sty at *Newmarket*, with an Address, wherein  
 they expressed their Abhorrence of the Asso-  
 ciation, and congratulated his Royal High-  
 ness on his Return from *Scotland* : Where-  
 upon the Duke told them, that he was very  
 glad of this, and all other Occasions to de-  
 clare, *That he would ever stand by the Church of*  
*England as now established : Having seen by*  
*Experience, that they were the best Supporters of*  
*the Crown.* The King also, having thank'd

Address of  
 the Uni-  
 versity of  
*Cambridge*  
 against the  
 Associati-  
 on.

Address to  
 the Duke  
 of *York*,  
 and his  
 Answer.

A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.

Duke of  
*Albemarle*  
elected  
Chancellor  
of *Cam-*  
*bridge*.

the University for their Address, directed them to elect another Chancellor in the Room of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become the Head of the Malecontents, and they accordingly elected the Duke of *Albemarle* their Chancellor.

The King and Duke coming from *New-Market*, the 10th of *April*, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* waited on his Royal Highness, and congratulated him on his Return from *Scotland*; and he was some few Days after entertained by the Artillery Company, at Merchant-Taylors Hall in the City: Where the Citizens came in Crouds to kiss his Hand, and to pay their Duty to him.

And now the Whigs, apprehending their Interest would decline in the City, if they did not take some extraordinary Measures to support it, some of their Leaders invited those, who had appeared most averse to the Duke's Succession, to a grand Dinner at *Haberdasber's-Hall*; and to each of them sent a Ticket, in the following Words, *viz.* " It  
" having pleased Almighty God, by his won-  
" derful Providence, to deliver and protect  
" his Majesties Person, the *Protestant* Reli-  
" gion, and *English* Liberties hitherto, from  
" the Hellish and frequent Attempts of their  
" Enemies, the *Papists*: In Testimony of  
" Thankfullness herein, and for the preserv-  
" ing mutual Love and Charity, among such  
" as are sensible thereof; you are desired to  
" meet many of the Loyal *Protestant* Nobili-  
" ty, Gentry, Clergy, and Citizens, on *Fri-*  
" *day* the 21st of this Instant *April*, 1682, at  
" Ten a Clock, at *St. Michael's Church* in *Corn-*  
" *hill*, there to hear a Sermon; and from thence  
" to go to *Haberdasbers-Hall* to Dinner; and  
" to

The  
Whigs  
invite their  
Friends  
to a Feast  
in the Ci-  
ty.



" to bring this Ticket with you. But the Court expecting no Good from this Assembly, published an Order of Council, Dated the 19th Instant, declaring, That the appointing publick Fasts and Thanksgivings, was a Matter of State, which belong'd only to his Majesty ; and therefore required the Lord-Mayor to prevent and hinder the Meeting of that Assembly.

A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.

Prohibited  
by the Go-  
vernment.

His Majesty, having determined that his Royal Highness should no more reside at a Distance from the Court, the Duke embarked the 3d of May, on Board the *Glocester-Frigate*, in order to bring up the Dutches, and the rest of his Family from *Scotland*, whither he was attended by several other Men of War and Yatches : But upon the 5th of May, the *Glocester* unhappily struck upon a Sand, called *Lemen* and *Oar*, about sixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the *Humber*; though the Weather was fair, and *Ayres*, esteemed one of the best Pilots in *England*, on Board. His Royal Highness was then asleep; but being awakened, and apprized of the Danger, he went into his Pinnacle with as many as it could carry, and saved himself on Board the *Mary-Yatch*. Other Boats were immediately sent to save the Men in the sinking Ship; but before any Service could be done, the Duke and the rest, to their inexpressible Grief, saw the Vessel sink to the Bottom of the Sea : By which, the Earl of *Roxburgh* in *Scotland*, the Lord *Obrian*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joseph Douglas*, Lieutenant *Hyde*, Brother-in-Law to the Duke, with several of the Duke's Servants, and above one Hundred and thirty Sea-men, were miserably lost. The Commander Sir *John Berry*,

The Duke  
in Danger  
of being  
cast away.



A.D. 1682. *ry* hardly escaping, by a Rope over the Stern, into Captain *Wyburn's* Boat. See Mr. *Echard's* History of *England*, Page 1020: And the Relation we have from Doctor *Kennet*, in his third Volume of his *Compleat History of England*, Page 395. is much the same with that given us by Mr. *Echard*.

Bishop  
*Burnet's*  
malicious  
Relation of  
this Acci-  
dent.

On the contrary, Bishop *Burnet* relates, "That the Duke got into the Long-Boat with some known Persons, who were thought to be his Priests from the Care he took of them; and putting off with his *Dogs*, and some few others; though the Boat would have carried fourscore Persons more; he left an hundred and fifty, some of them Men of great Quality, to perish; which was laid to the Captain's Charge: But the Duke took no Notice of the cruel Neglect." And *Tindal*, the Translator of *Rapin*, vouches for the Bishop; and tells us, *This is very probable*.

But it is evident, that Bishop *Burnet* either made this Story, or gave Credit to it on very slight Grounds; for he imputes this Misfortune to one *Leg*, whom he makes to be the Captain of the *Glocester-Frigate*; whereas Sir *John Berry* was really the Commander, and cleared of the Fault by his Majesty's Council: But *Ayres* the Pilot, was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment for his Neglect; which is a Confutation of another Part of the Bishop's Relation, *That the Duke took no Notice of the cruel Neglect*; when it was his Royal Highness that caused the Pilot to be tried and punished for it.

His Relati-  
on im-  
possible  
to be true,

There is a further remarkable Mistake, which the Bishop's precipitate Malice would not permit him to examine; and that is, In the

the Number of Men the Pinnacle of a *A.D. 1682.*  
 fifth Rate Man of War, might be suppos'd  
 to carry : For he says, That the Duke might *34 Car. II.*  
 easily have taken in fourscore more than he  
 did : And if we suppose, which is the least  
 we can, that he had twenty with him before ;  
 these added to the fourscore he would have  
 had him taken in, will amount to an hun-  
 dred : And if he can find any Pinnacle in  
 the Navy, that belongs to a fifth Rate,  
 that will carry half that Number, some Cre-  
 dit may be given to those improbable Facts  
 he has given in upon Oath in his History.  
 Indeed it is observable, that our Author has  
 turned the Pinnacle into a Long-Boat : But  
 though this be a Mistake that I shall not  
 much insist on, his Friends will be troubled  
 to find either a Pinnacle or a Long-Boat in  
 the Navy, that belongs to a fifth Rate,  
 which will carry an hundred Men. Besides, it  
 appears that the Duke was awakened out of  
 his Sleep ; and that they were all in a great  
 Consternation, and had very little Time to  
 deliberate. It is apparent also, that they did  
 expect, that the Boats from the other Ships  
 would have come time enough to their As-  
 sistance, by the Captain's remaining on Board,  
 who escaped into one of them : And it was  
 purely an Accident, that the Ship sunk so  
 suddenly, and no more of the Men were  
 saved. But this will remain as a Specimen,  
 how glad Doctor *Burnet* was of an  
 Opportunity of venting his Spleen against  
 the Royal Family, and how little the  
 Facts he relates, are to be depended  
 on.

And

A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.



And if any thing is to be gathered from the Bishop's Reflexion at last, it is this; That his Malice and Prejudice to the Duke of York sometimes deprived him of his Reason so far, as to put him upon affirming Facts upon Oath, that it is impossible for any Man to believe, unless the poor, credulous *Tindal*: For if it could be supposed, that the Duke was more concerned for his Priests (if they were such) than for his Relations and Friends that he carried with him on this Occasion; will any Man believe that he preferred his *Dogs* to them too, as the Bishop suggests? It is well they did not make another Plot of it, and give out, that the Duke carried down his *Protestant* Friends and Relations along with him, on purpose to drown them. But to proceed in our History.

The Duke  
and his  
Family re-  
turn from  
Scotland.

The Duke, continuing his Voyage to *Scotland*, arrived at *Edinburgh* the seventh of *May*; and having taken his Leave of the Council there, returned with the *Dutchess*, the Princess *Anne* (afterwards Queen) and a great Train of the Nobility of both Sexes, by Sea to *England*, arriving in the *Thames* the 26th of the same Month: Soon after which, he was congratulated by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, on his happy Escape and Return; and the People testified their Joy as usual, by their Bells and Bonfires.

*Julian*,  
*Johnson's*  
Libel.

The Faction, however, were not so much discouraged, but they continued to libel the Government as much as ever; and, among other Whig-Scribblers, *Samuel Johnson*, a Chaplain or Dependant in the Earl of *Bedford's* Family, took upon him to write a Treatise, which he stiled *Julian the Apostate*; endeavouring to draw a Parallel between the Em-  
peror



peror *Julian* and the Duke of *York*: He also vindicated the Bill of Exclusion, and laughed at Passive Obedience, as a *Mahometan* Doctrine.

A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.

In the mean time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* brought an Action of *Scandalum magnatum* against one *Cradock*, a Mercer in *London*, for saying he was a Traytor, or to that Effect; and the Action being laid in *London*, *Cradock's* Council alledged, there was no Probability of a fair Trial there, the Earl had such an Influence on the Sheriffs and Citizens; and moved, that the Jury might be of some neighbouring County: Whereupon the Court of *King's-Bench* gave the Earl his Choice of a Jury out of any other County of *England*; but the Earl chose not to try the Cause at all, rather than not have it tried by a *London* Jury.

*Shaftsbury* brings Actions against his Enemies, and drops them.

The Court also made the like Rule in a Cause between the Earl and Mr. *Graham*, whom he sued for being Solicitor in the Indictment against him: Whereupon the Earl thought fit also to drop that Suit. And indeed as the Judges have a Power of directing the Jury to be summoned out of a foreign County, where any Partiality is expected, they could never execute it at a more proper Time, when the King or his Friends could expect no Justice in the City. However, the Tories exerted themselves at the Election of Sheriffs the next *Midsummer-Day*; and after a very great Struggle (the Whigs mobbing and knocking down the loyal Lord Mayor) they procured Mr. *Dudley North* and Mr. *Peter Rich*, more indifferent Sheriffs, to be sworn into that Office; and Juries were no longer packed in Favour of the Whigs. The Tories also carried the Election of a Lord Mayor on *Michael-*

Loyal Sheriffs elected;

and a loyal Lord Mayor.



A.D. 1682

34 Car. II.



Lord  
Shaftsbury  
flies to  
Holland:

Dies at  
Amster-  
dam.

*mas-Day*; Sir *William Pritchard* having the Majority on a Scrutiny, whom his Majesty approved: However, the Faction moved the Court of *King's-Bench* for a *Mandamus* to Sir *John Moor*, the present Lord Mayor, to swear Mr. *Gould* or Mr. *Cornish* into that Office; one of whom they pretended was duly elected: To whom the Court answered, That such a *Mandamus* in the Disjunctive was never heard of; and dismissed their Motion.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, finding the Chief Magistrates of the City changed, and that there was no longer any Protection to be expected from *IGNORAMUS Juries*, began to think of retiring beyond Sea; but before he went, laid the Foundation of a Plot for the Subversion of the Government, which was discovered the next Year: He embarked for the Low-Countries in *November*, and landing in *Holland* a Day or two after, took him a House at *Amsterdam*, designing to live there under the Protection of a State he would have destroyed when he was in Power; as appears by that Passage in one of his Speeches, *DELENDA EST CARTHAGO*: However, the *Dutch* received him with great Kindness, being very well satisfied of his Conversion, and that he was now at the Head of the Faction that espoused their Interest in *England*. But the Earl died within two Months after his Arrival at *Amsterdam*, being then in the sixty-second Year of his Age. This was the Man who led the Court into all the impolitical Schemes and Errors taken notice of in the middle of King *Charles's* Reign, and afterwards betraying his Master's Secrets to the Fanaticks, aggravated and multiplied the Miscarriages of the Court, till he worked up the

the People into a Fury that fell very little short of a Rebellion; it being observed of him, *That when he was in Power, he was the greatest Tyrant, and when out of the Administration, the boldest and most artful Incendiary, that ever England bred.*

A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.

Notwithstanding the Faction had now lost their great Leader, and their Whig Magistrates; yet, as they were conscious they had still the Multitude on their Side, they raised their Mobs as usual, and on every rejoicing Day, when they had any Pretence for assembling, insulted the Government; particularly on the Fifth of *November*; when they made Bonfires, and cried out, *A Monmouth, A Monmouth*; and those who would not join in the common Cry, were knocked down and abused: Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs found themselves obliged to assemble Part of the Trained-Bands to keep the Peace; and having dispersed the Mob, they apprehended some of the principal Rioters, and committed them to Prison: They also suppressed their Clubs and Conventicles, where they daily sat brooding Rebellion: And a Proclamation was issued to suppress all seditious Papers and Pamphlets that were published under the Titles of News, or Weekly Intelligence. It was ordered also, That no Bonfires or Fireworks should be made in the City without Leave of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; in pursuance whereof a Stop was put to their Procession on the 17th of *November*, *Q. Elizabeth's Birth-Day*; when they used to burn the Pope, the Devil, and such of the King's Servants in their Company as they did not approve, and carry the Image of the murdered Justice *Godfrey* about the Streets: And thus the City

The Whigs continue to raise their Mobs, and insult the Government; but are suppressed.

A.D. 1682

34 Car. II.

A *Quo Warranto* brought against the City.

The Duke brings an Action of *Scandalum magnatum* against *Pilkington*;

Recovers 100,000 l. Damages.

Alterations in the Ministry.

*Halifax* and *Sunderland* introduced again.

was reduced to a tolerable State of Quiet and Tranquillity again. But as the Court were apprehensive the Whigs would, by their Mobbing, and other seditious Attempts, be able one day to carry the Election of their principal Magistrates again; and whenever a Parliament should assemble, might be able to influence their Debates, as the like Mobs had done in Forty one; it was determined to bring a *Quo Warranto* against the City, and to shew they had forfeited their Charter by some unwarrantable Proceedings; and by a new Charter to reserve the Confirmation of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and other principal Magistrates of the City, to his Majesty's Approbation; of which I shall treat more at large in its proper Place.

In the mean time the Duke of York brought an Action of *Scandalum magnatum* against the late Sheriff, Alderman *Pilkington*, for saying before the Court of Aldermen, when it was proposed to address his Royal Highness on his Return from Scotland, *The Duke of York has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats*: Which being proved by Alderman *Hooker* and Alderman *Tulse*, the Jury gave the Duke One hundred thousand Pounds Damages: Whereupon *Pilkington* surrendered himself in Discharge of his Bail, and lay in Prison a considerable Time, being unable to pay the Fine.

There were several Removes at Court, and Creations of Nobility, the latter end of this Year; the Privy-Seal was taken from the Earl of *Anglesea* (who had made some indecent Reflexions on his Majesty, and on the Duke of *Ormond's* Administration in *Ireland*) and given to *George Earl of Halifax*, whom his Majesty



A.D. 1682.

34 Car. II.

Creations  
of Nobility.

Majesty also created Marquis of *Halifax* in the Month of *August*; the Earl of *Sunderland* was on the 20th of *September* called to the Council-Board again, and on the Resignation of the Lord *Conway* soon after made Secretary of State again; Sir *John Bennet*, Knight of the *Bath*, the latter end of *November*, was created Baron of *Ossulston*; *James* Duke of *Ormond*, in *Ireland*, was created an *English* Duke with the same Title; the Marquis of *Worcester* was created Duke of *Beaufort*; and the Lord *Norris*, Earl of *Abington*; and in the beginning of *December*, *Edward* Viscount *Cambden* was created Earl of *Gainsborough*; *Conyers* Lord *Darcy*, Earl of *Holderness*; *Tho.* Lord *Windsor*, Governor of *Kingston upon Hull*, Earl of *Plymouth*; *Horatio* Lord *Townshend*, Viscount *Townshend* of *Raynham*; Sir *Thomas Thynne*, Baronet, Baron *Thynne* of *Warminster*, and Viscount *Weymouth*; Colonel *George Legg*, Master-General of the Ordnance, and one of his Majesty's Privy-Council, Baron of *Dartmouth*; and the celebrated Colonel *John Churchill* (afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*) Baron *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*: And about the same time his Majesty was pleased to make his Son, the Duke of *Grafton*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, vacant by the Death of his Highness Prince *Rupert*, who died on the 29th of *November* this Year, in the sixty third Year of his Age. This Prince was the Third Son of *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, Daughter of King *James I.* and Brother to the Princess *Sophia*, on whose Issue the Crown of *Great Britain* was settled by Act of Parliament the last Year of King *William III.* He made a noble Figure, as a Soldier, both by Sea and Land, in this and the last Reign, having been for

Prince  
*Rupert's*  
Death.



*A.D.* 1682. for the most part victorious on each Element :  
 And after a long Series of great and glorious  
 Actions, had retired from Business to an elegant Solitude, where he spent his Time in ingenious Studies, and useful Experiments, till he was called by the great Source of all Beings from this Life to a better. About the same time died *John Maitland*, Duke of *Lauderdale*, who had the Administration of the Affairs of *Scotland* in his Hands great part of this Reign. The celebrated *Heneage Finch*, Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, also left the World this Winter, having the Character of a great Lawyer and Orator, and universally applauded for his just and impartial Decrees in the high Station he possessed.

Duke of  
*Lauder-*  
*dale's*  
 Death.  
 Lord Chan-  
 cellor *Finch*  
 dies.

The King  
 narrowly  
 escapes be-  
 ing assassi-  
 nated at  
 the *Rye*.

The King going as usual to the Races at *New-Market* this Spring, accompanied by the Duke, there happened a Fire in that Town the 22d of *March*, which burnt down the Palace, and obliged his Majesty to return to *London* a Week sooner than he intended ; by which Means the King and Duke had the good Fortune to escape being assassinated at the *Rye-House* near *Hoddesdon* in *Hertfordshire*, by a Troop of Republicans, who had conspired to form an Ambuscade there, and murder the two Brothers in their Return from *New-Market* ; as will be shewn more largely when I come to give an Account of the Trials of those Regicides.

The Whigs  
 arrest the  
 Lord  
 Mayor,  
*&c.* in  
 order to  
 raise an  
 Insurrec-  
 tion.

In the mean time the Whigs, as a last Effort to recover their Superiority in the City, and spirit up their Party into actual Rebellion, had the Assurance to arrest Sir *Wm. Pritchard*, the Lord Mayor, Sheriff *North*, and several loyal Aldermen, in an Action, at the Suit of  
*Papil-*

*Papillon* and *Dubois*, under Pretence of the Damages they had received by not being returned Sheriffs; and the Coroner *Broom*, who made the Warrants out on those Writs, kept them in Custody till after Midnight, it having been concerted that the Faction should rise in Arms at the same time, and secure the City: But the Lieutenantcy being alarmed at the bold Attempt, raised the Trained-Bands, and prevented the designed Insurrection: And one *Fletcher*, a Serjeant at the *Compter*, having an Action of Five hundred Pounds against *Broom* the Coroner, arrested him in his Turn, and thereby released the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The Common-Council, however, being apprehensive that the Court would resent this Outrage on the Lord Mayor, and the rest of the loyal Magistrates, disclaimed the Action by an Order of Common-Council, declaring, *That whereas Sir William Pritchard, the Lord Mayor, was lately arrested in a rude manner, at the Suit, or in the Name of Papillon and Dubois; and whereas it had been alledged by the said Papillon and Dubois, That the Action upon which the said Arrest was made was prosecuted at the Instance of the Citizens of London; the Members of the said Court, to deliver themselves and the said Citizens from this undue Imputation, did declare, that they were not privy or consenting to the said Action, or Arrest; and did disown and disapprove the same:* And soon after they turned *Broom* out of his Place of Coroner, and made him incapable of enjoying any Place or Preferment in the City for the future.

Soon after, viz. on the eighth of May, came on at *Guildhall* the Trial of the great Riot committed on *Midsummer-Day* the last Year at the

The Rioters at the Election of Sheriffs tried.

*A.D.* 1683. the Election of Sheriffs: The Attorney General having laid an Information against the fourteen following Persons; viz. the then Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, the Lord Grey of *Werk*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Cornish*, *Bethel*, *Freeman*, *Swinock*, *Jenks*, *Goodenough*, *Wickham*, *Keys*, *Deagle*, and *Jekyl*: The Information set forth, That on *Midsummer-Day* aforesaid, there was a riotous and unlawful Assembly of above a thousand Persons in the *Guildhall* of the said City, who by their clamorous Outcries and Disorders raised a Tumult, assaulted the then Lord Mayor, forced him upon his Knees, threw off his Hat, beat down the Sword that was carried before him, and continued the Hall after a legal Adjournment, denying the Authority of the Lord Mayor to adjourn the Court, &c. and that the fourteen Persons abovementioned were Part of the Rioters.

They are convicted and fined.

The two Points chiefly debated at this Trial were, first, Whether the Lord Mayor had a Right to call, adjourn, and dissolve the Common-Hall; and, secondly, to prove the Defendants concerned in the said Riot: Both which were unanswerably proved, and Judgment thereupon given against them; the Lord Grey, *Shute*, *Cornish*, and *Bethel*, being fined a Thousand Marks each; *Pilkington* and some others, Five hundred Pounds, and the rest in lesser Sums.

*Ward* convicted of Perjury.

Sir *Patience Ward* was some few Days after tried and convicted of Perjury in the Court of *King's-Bench*, for swearing falsely in the Cause between the Duke of *York* and *Pilkington*, upon the Evidence of several Aldermen: But I must refer the Reader to the *State Trials*, for his Satisfaction in this, and other Trials mentioned



tioned in the Course of this History; which will abundantly confute the Calumnies raised against the Government by Bishop *Burnet*, and other Whig-Writers, who suggest that their Friends underwent great Hardships in these Proceedings. And now the Common-Council of *London*, to shew that they were better affected to the Government than some of their Predecessors, repealed all the By-Laws that had been made during the late Rebellion, and passed a Bill, declaring and asserting the ancient Rights of the Chair; whereby the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were restored to their Negative Voice: It was also declared, That the Lord Mayor had the Power of nominating one of the Sheriffs: And accordingly Sir *William Pritchard*, at the *Bridge-House* Feast, some few Days before *Midsummer*, made choice of Alderman *Daniel* for Sheriff the ensuing Year, by the ancient Ceremony of drinking to him by the Name of *Mr. Sheriff elect*.

A.D. 1683

35 Car. II.

A Declaration of the Power of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

The Statue of King *Charles I.* was about the same time set up in one of the Niches of the *Royal Exchange* (by the City) with the following Inscription cut in Marble: EIKON BASILIKH Serenissimi ac Religiosissimi Principis CAROLI Primi, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defensoris, (bis Martyris, in Corpore & in Effigie) impiis Rebellionum manibus ex hoc loco deturbata & confracta, A. D. 1648, restituta, & hic demum collocata, A. D. 1683.

K. Charles his Statue erected.

The Court, however, were determined to proceed in their *Quo Warranto* against the City; and the Matter was brought to a Trial in the *King's-Bench* the 12th of *June*. The principal Points insisted on by the King's

VOL. XXIII. U Council

The *Quo Warranto* against the City tried.



*A.D.* 1683. Council for the Forfeiture of the Charter, were, Their exacting Tolls in their Markets illegally, and particularly their raising Money for rebuilding the Conduit in *Cheapside*; and, secondly, for framing and publishing that scandalous Libel, or Petition, wherein they charge the King with obstructing the Course of Justice, by proroguing the last Parliament held at *Westminster*: And the Court having heard the Defence made by the Council for the City, after some few Days, gave Judgment, *That the Liberties and Franchises of the City of London be seized into the King's Hands.* The Pleadings were drawn out to a very great Length; for which I must again refer the Reader to the *State Trials*.

Judgment  
against the  
City.

They pe-  
tition the  
King to  
pardon  
them.

Soon after this Judgment against the City, a Common-Council was assembled, and drew up a Petition to his Majesty, in which they express their hearty and unfeigned Sorrow for the Misgovernment of the City of late Years, whereby the Citizens had fallen under his Majesty's Displeasure, which had occasioned a *Quo Warranto* and Judgment against them; that they were very thankful the Judgment was not yet entered up; and begged his Majesty's Pardon for all their Offences; promising constant Loyalty, and a regular Administration of the Government of the City, for the future.

This Petition being presented to his Majesty, at a Council held at *Windsor* the 18th of *June*, by the Lord Mayor Sir *W. Pritchard*, attended by some other loyal Aldermen and Citizens; they were answered, That, for the Sakes of so many of the present Magistrates, and other eminent Citizens, that were of undoubted Loyalty, his Majesty would shew the  
City

City all the Favour they could reasonably desire; and though the Judgment had been obtained in a *Quo Warranto*, he did not intend to prejudice them in their real Properties or Customs, and should not reject their Suit, if they agreed to the following Terms; viz. That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town Clerk, Coroner, or Steward of the Borough of *Southwark*, should be admitted to exercise their respective Offices, before his Majesty approved them; and if they were disapproved, the City should proceed to another Choice; which if he disliked, his Majesty might appoint the Officers himself; with some other less material Alterations: And that these Regulations being made, his Majesty would not only pardon the City, but confirm their Charter: But if they did not comply, his Majesty had ordered the Attorney General to enter the Judgment next *Saturday*.

*A D. 1683;*  
*3<sup>d</sup> Car. II.*

Terms required of the City.

A Common-Council being called at *Guildhall* two Days after, the Question was put, Whether they should submit to his Majesty's Regulations: And upon a Division, there were an hundred and eight for the Affirmative, and eighty six against it: Whereupon the Sheriffs attended his Majesty the next Day, and acquainted him they submitted to his Regulations. However, the City neglecting to sign the said Submission and Regulations, and a dangerous Plot being discovered about the same time, for Assassinating his Majesty and the Duke of *York*, and raising a Rebellion, which was to have been begun and supported chiefly by the Citizens of *London*, the King found himself obliged, in his own Defence, to take advantage of the Judgment on the *Quo Warranto*, and cause it to be entered up; after

The King discovering a Plot against his Life, &c. takes advantage of the Judgment.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

Some Account of  
the Assassination,  
or Rye-House  
Plot.

which the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and other Officers renewed their Commissions from the King, without an Election; and his Majesty by his sole Authority, changed the Magistrates of the City whenever he saw fit: Which, it is highly probable, he had never done, if he had thought there was a Possibility of supporting the Government by any other Means, after he had discovered so formidable a Conspiracy, just ready to destroy him; and which he had, by an indulgent Providence, once very narrowly escaped.

The first Person who discovered this Conspiracy, was *Josiah Keeling*, Salter, and Citizen of *London*; a Man in good Circumstances, but a rigid Fanatick; and who had shewn himself one of the forwardest in the late Tumults; insomuch, that he had caused himself to be constituted a special Bailiff, in order to the arresting Sir *William Pritchard*, the Lord Mayor; which Office he executed with the Rudeness and Barbarity natural to such kind of People; and by this Means obtained the entire Confidence of the Faction, was permitted to be at their several Consults, and was selected out to be one of the Forty, who were to have assassinated the King and the Duke at the *Rye-House* in *Hertfordshire*. This Man, either repenting of his execrable Treason, or apprehending the Design to be desperate and impracticable, having seen it unaccountably put off and defeated, more than once already, and apprehending he should ruin himself and Family probably, if he concealed the Knowledge of it any longer, and it should be discovered by another Hand: Upon these, or some such other Motives, he came to the Lord *Dartmouth*, and offered to acquaint him



him with the Plot ; and being referred by that Lord to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the principal Secretaries of State, he declared, That there had been for several Months past, a Conspiracy to raise a Rebellion, and to kill the King and the Duke ; and Warrants were thereupon issued out to apprehend Colonel *John Romsey*, *Richard Rumbold* Maltster, *Richard Nelthrop* Esq; *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. who had been Under-Sheriff to the late Whig-Sheriffs, Captain *Walcot*, *William Thomson*, *James Burton*, and *William Hone* ; and a Proclamation was published the 23d of *June*, offering the Reward of an hundred Pounds, and a Pardon for the Discovery of any one of them. The next Day, Colonel *Romsey* laying hold of the Pardon offered in the Proclamation, came in and made a further Discovery. Whereupon a second Proclamation was issued the 28th, for apprehending *James Duke of Monmouth*, *Ford Lord Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* Knight, and *Robert Ferguson*, who were fled. Soon after, the Lord *William Howard*, another of the Conspirators came in, and made an additional Discovery ; whereupon the Earl of *Effex*, and the Lord *Russel* were apprehended ; and a Warrant was issued against the Duke of *Monmouth*, but he made his Escape.

A.D. 1683.  
35 Car. II.  
Keeling's  
Evidence.

Conspira-  
tors.

*Romsey's*  
Discove-  
ries.

Other  
Conspira-  
tors of  
Quality.  
*Monmouth*,  
*Howard*,  
*Russel*, &c.

This Conspiracy, it seems, was first formed a little after Midsummer the preceeding Year 1682, when the Faction had been disappointed in their Views by the Election of Loyal Sheriffs : Which so enraged the Party, that instead of their former slow and uncertain Attempts to compel his Majesty to yield to their Demands, by denying him parlia-

A further  
Account  
of the  
Conspira-  
cy.



A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

Managed  
by a Coun-  
cil of Six.Inferiour  
Cabals.

parliamentary Supplies, and by City Tumults, they resolved to bring about their Projects by downright Treason and Rebellion. Accordingly, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Trenchard*, and the Heads of the Party, held frequent Consults, wherein it was resolved, To make an Infurrection in *London*, and in some distant Counties; to seize the Guards, &c. And the 19th of *November* was agreed on, to appear in Arms. But their Friends of the Country not being prepared, the Rendezvous was put off. Whereupon *Shaftsbury*, believing the Conspiracy, which had been communicated to so many, could not be long concealed, fled to *Holland* the last of *November*, as has been related already. Upon the Earl's abandoning them, a Council of six of the remaining Chiefs was formed, in order to consider of new Measures; which Council consisted of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Effex*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and Mr. *Hampden*; which Council sat the first Time, about the middle of *January*, 1682-3: And as it was thought proper to invite the *Scots* Malecontents into the Conspiracy, *Aaron Smith*, the bold Solicitor at *Colledge's* Trial, was sent down thither by the Council; and Sir *John Cochran*, the *Campbells*, Relations of the Earl of *Argyle*, *Monroe*, and some others came up from that Kingdom, to concert Measures with the Party, and were promised ten Thousand Pounds, if they would begin a Rebellion there. Besides this Grand Council, there were several other Inferiour Councils or Clubs of Malecontents; that met at different Places in the City, which was cantoned into twenty Divisions

sions on this Occasion ; over each of which, some bold popular Man was placed, who was judged most capable of conducting the Design ; and had nine or ten Emissaries under him, to corrupt the People, and engage them against the Government : And it was computed, that they could raise and arm, at a very short Warning, ten Thousand stout Fellows, who were to seize the Guards, the Tower, Whitehall, the Savoy, &c. Great Quantities of Arms were provided for this Purpose, and Places of Rendezvous assigned, from whence they might attack the said Places, at one and the same Instant. An hundred old *Oliverian* Officers were to command them ; and they were to be supported by a Body of five hundred Horse from the neighbouring Counties : Besides which, all the Horses fit for Service about Town, were to be seized, mounted, and formed into Troops and Regiments. Several Towns also were to be surprized in other Parts of *England* ; such as *Portsmouth*, *Bristol*, &c. But the principal Design agitated in the inferiour Cabals, was, the Assassinating of the King and Duke, in which, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, *Walcot*, *Romsey*, &c. were said to be chiefly concerned ; who proposed by this Means, to throw all into Confusion, and change the Government into a Republick at once.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

The Conspirators divide the City into 20 Parts, under as many Leaders.

The Assassination of the King and Duke resolved on.

*Rumbald* had a House called the *Rye*, in *Hertfordshire*, about nineteen Miles from *London*, which stood in the King's Road from *Newmarket*, at a good Distance from any other House. On the one Side the Road was a Moat, that surrounded the House ; and on the other, a Hedge and Ditch, and forty Horsemen compleatly armed, were to lye in Am-

Designed to have been perpetrated at the *Rye* in *Hertfordshire*.

*A.D.* 1683. Ambuscade in the Barns and Out-houses of the *Rye*, in order to surprize the King there, on his Return from *Newmarket* : For the Place was not only held extremely convenient for their Design, but as it was no more than two Miles from *Hoddesdon*, where the King usually took fresh Guards, those who were assigned the former Stage, were frequently tired before they came to the *Rye*, and loitered behind ; insomuch, that sometimes there were not above six or seven of the Guards, who attended the King's Coach in that Part of the Road. Upon Notice of the King's Approach, the Assassins were to have sallied from the Out-houses and Covers where they lay concealed. A Cart was to have been overthrown in the narrowest Part of the Way ; and while one Party attacked the Guards, another was to shoot the Coachman and Postilion, and to fire into the Coach : And having murdered the King and Duke, they were with all speed to have fled to *London*, by a short Way over *Hackney-Marsh*, and join their Brethren in the City ; who, upon the first News of the Success of the Assassination, were to assemble their Forces, and break out into open Rebellion. But a Fire happening at *Newmarket*, and obliging his Majesty to return to *London*, a Week sooner than was expected, (as has been related already) this hopeful Design was frustrated ; and it was thought fit to wait for another Opportunity to perpetrate their Treasons.

Prevented  
by a Fire at  
*New-*  
*market.*

Addreses  
on the  
King's Ef-  
cape.

The Plot was no sooner discovered, but Addreses of Congratulation for the King and the Duke's Escape came up from all the Counties and great Towns in the Kingdom ; in which they declared their Detestation of the Prin-  
ciples



ciples and Practices of the Conspirators ; *A.D. 1683.*  
 and on the 12th of *July*, Lieutenant Colo-  
 nel *Thomas Walcot* was brought to his Trial  
 at the *Old-Baily* ; against whom Colonel *Rom-*  
*sey* deposed ; That he was at Counsellor *West*'s Chamber, when a List of the Assassins  
 was produced : And that *Walcot* agreed to  
 command the Party, that was to attack the  
 Guards at the *Rye* : That he bought a Horse  
 for that Purpose ; and undertook to view  
 the Situation of *Rumbald's* House : That the  
 Prisoner also was present at the Division of  
*London* into twenty Parts, in order to an In-  
 surrection ; and at a Consult for buying of  
 Arms, after the Disappointment at the *Rye-*  
*House* ; and at several other Consultations,  
 where the Witness also was present. *Keeling*  
 and *Bourne* deposed, That the Prisoner was  
 at several of their treasonable Consults : And  
*Bourne* added, That *Walcot* was at a Meeting  
 after *Keeling's* Discovery ; where it was pro-  
 posed, to have Recourse to Arms immedi-  
 ately, and to kill *Keeling* for discovering the  
 Plot. Counsellor *West* also deposed, That  
 the Prisoner was at several treasonable Con-  
 sults at the Deponent's Chambers and else-  
 where : That he acquainted the Deponent,  
 an Insurrection was intended, within a Month  
 after the Election of Sheriffs : That the Earl  
 of *Shaftsbury* engaged the Prisoner in the  
 Conspiracy, and gave him Expectations of  
 being a Colonel of Horse : And that he un-  
 dertook to command the Party, that was to  
 attack the Guards at the *Rye-House* : That he  
 was present also at a Meeting of Traytors,  
 after the Discovery ; where they consulted  
 about their Escape : And that the Prisoner  
 said, *God will still deliver these Nations* : And

35 Car. II.

Captain  
*Walcot*  
tried for  
the Plot.  
*Romsey's*  
Evidence.

The Evi-  
dence.  
of *Keeling*  
and *Bourne*.

Of *West*.



A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II

*Walcot's*  
Confession  
in a Letter  
to the Se-  
cretary.

a Letter the Prisoner wrote to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Principal Secretary of State, after the Discovery, had great Weight with the Jury; wherein *Walcot* says, "That he was come to Town to lay himself at his Majesty's Feet: That this was the first Crime he had been guilty of, since the King's Restoration; and too soon by much now: That he was ready to discover to his Majesty all that he knew in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; which might be something more than the first Discoverer could acquaint him with, especially as to *Ireland*: That his Intimacy with a *Scotch* Minister, through whose Hands much of the Business passed, occasioned his knowing very much; and that the Business was laid very broad, or he was misinformed: Concluding with a Proposal; That he would follow the Traytors who were fled, and give Notice what Measures they should take," with other the like Expressions.

There was also a Paper given in Evidence against him, that was taken upon him in *Newgate*, wherein he desires *Romsey* and *West* to spare him; telling them, they had Ground enough to serve the King upon other Men. But his private Examination before the King, was not produced; wherein he discovered several other Particulars, and named the Men of Quality, who had undertaken to head the Rebellion in several Counties. The Prisoner in his own Defence, said, He had no Share in the Assassination: He confessed indeed, that he was in some Companies, where the Infurrection was talked of by Chance but that could amount to no more than Mis-

His De-  
fence.

prison

prison of Treason: And that, as to the Discovery he promised to make in his Letter to the Secretary, it was only what *Ferguson* had told him; and excepted against the Witnesses, because they acknowledged themselves Accomplices in the same Crime. To which it was replied, That if the Evidence of a Traytor was not to be admitted against his Accomplices, it was impossible any Treason could be discovered: And that his being at several Treasonable Consults, and not discovering them, was not only a Misprision, but High Treason: And the Jury upon a very short Consultation, found the Prisoner *Guilt*  
*ty.* A.D 1683.  
35 Car. II.  
He is convicted.

*How*, a Joyner, was tried for the Plot the same Day; who confessed the greatest Part of the Charge, particularly, the Design to kill the King; and was upon the Evidence of *Keeling*, *West*, *Sir Nicholas Butler*, and his own Confession, Convicted. How convicted.

The Lord *William Russel*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *Bedford*, was brought to his Trial at the *Old-Baily*, on the 13th of *July*, before the Lord Chief-Justice *Sanderson*, and several other Judges. The Indictment set forth, That *William Russel*, late of *London*, Esq; the 2d Day of *November*, in the 34th Year of King *Charles II*, and divers other Days and Times, in the Parish and Ward of *St. Michael Bassishaw*, *London*, did, with divers other Traytors to the Jurors unknown, conspire, compass, and imagine the Death of the King; and to that End did meet, consult, and conclude to raise a Rebellion, to seize and destroy the King's Guards, &c. contrary to his Duty of Allegiance, &c. Lord Russel's Trial.  
The Substance of the Indictment.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

Romsey's  
Evidence  
against  
him.

The Witnesses produced against him, were, Colonel *Romsey*, Mr. *Shephard* a Merchant in *Abchurch-lane*, and the Lord *Howard*; all of them Accomplices in the Treason by their own Confession, and Friends to the Prisoner, till this Discovery. Colonel *Romsey* deposed; That being at my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Lodgings at *Wapping*, the latter End of *October*, or the Beginning of *November* last, the Lord *Shaftsbury* told him, there were met at Mr. *Shephard's* House, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Russel*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and Mr. *Ferguson*: And that the Lord *Shaftsbury* directed the Deponent to go to them, and enquire what Resolution they had taken about the Rising at *Taunton*: That the Deponent went thither accordingly, and found the Company there; who informed him, That Mr. *Trenchard* had failed them, though he had assured them, when he came first to Town, that he could in three or four Hours Time raise a thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; and they said, my Lord *Shaftsbury* must be contented: And upon his carrying back that Answer, *Shaftsbury* resolved to be gone: That while the Deponent staid at *Shephard's*, there was also some Discourse about surprizing the Guards at the *Savoy*, and the *Meuse*: That all the Company debated it; and as he remembred, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* undertook to view them: And, that there was also a Discourse of a Rising, the 19th of *November*: And the Lord *Russel* demanding of the Witness, if he gave any Answer to the Message about the Rising; the Deponent answered, That the Lord *Russel*



fel did discourse about the Rising at Taunton, *A.D. 1683.*  
and consent to it.

Mr. Shephard deposed, That the Conspirators met twice at his House, and that the Lord *Russel* was there both times; that there was a Discourse of surprizing the Guards; and that the second time, when the Lord *Grey*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, had been to view them, Sir *Thomas* said, *The Guards were very remiss, not like Soldiers; and that the Thing was feasible.*

35 Car. II.

Shephard's Evidence.

The Lord *Howard*, having given a general Account of the Plot, deposed, That on the Lord *Shaftsbury's* going to *Holland* it was considered by the Conspirators, that the Matter had gone so far, and was communicated to so many, that it was unsafe to retreat; and that, in order to manage the Affair, it would be necessary to form a Council to take Care of the whole: And accordingly, about the Middle of *January* last, a Cabal was erected, consisting of six Persons; viz. the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel*, Mr. *Hampden*, junior, *Algernoon Sidney*, and himself; and that they met at Mr. *Hampden's* House; where it was debated, Whether it was proper the Insurrection should begin in the Country or in *London*; that they considered what Towns and Counties were most disposed to Action, what Arms and Money would be necessary; and their last and greatest Concern was, how to draw the *Scots* in to join them; That about ten Days after, the same Persons met at the Lord *Russel's* House, and it was resolved to send some Persons to the Lord *Argile*, and to see in what State *Scotland* was; That Colonel *Sidney* was to take care of that Business; who told the Deponent

Lord Howard's Evidence.

The Council of Six.

after-

*AD.* 1683. afterwards, That he had sent *Aaron Smith* on that Errand, and given him sixty Guineas for his Journey.

35 *Car.* II.

*L. Russell's*  
Defence.

The Lord *Russell*, in Answer to this, said, That it was true the Company the last Witnesses mentioned did meet often, but there were no Debates concerning what he mentioned; That the Lord *Howard* (the Witness) was a Man of a voluble Tongue, talked well, and they were delighted to hear him: That he hoped the Jury would consider, the Witnesses swore against him to save their own Lives; and that if Colonel *Romsey*, who had been so highly obliged to the King and Duke, was capable of a Design of murdering the King, he thought no body would wonder if, to save his own Life, he would endeavour to take away his (the Prisoner's) and besides, That he only gave Evidence of a Conspiracy to levy War, which was not Treason.

The Reply  
of the  
King's  
Council.

To which the Attorney-General answered, That to prepare Forces to fight against the King, was a Design within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. to kill the King: And a Design to depose the King, to imprison the King, to raise the King's Subjects against him, had been settled by several Resolutions to be within the Statute, and Evidence of a Design to kill the King. *And so it has been adjudged in every Reign since.*

His further  
Defence;  
answered.

Then the Prisoner objected, There was but one Witness; to which the Lord Chief Justice answered, That the Statute did not require two Witnesses to every Overt-Act; but if there were several Overt-Acts manifesting the same Treason, one Witness to each of them was sufficient. *Which has been also adjudged to be Law ever since.* And the Attorney remind-  
ed

ed the Prisoner, that in the Lord *Stafford's* Case, whom he had prosecuted with such Violence, there was but one Witness to one Overt-Act in *England*, and another to an Overt-Act in *France*, which was deemed sufficient to convict that Lord.

A.D. 1683.  
35 Car. II.

Then the Prisoner objected, That the Lord *Howard*, notwithstanding his long Narrative of the Plot, had protested he knew nothing of it, nor of any Plot he could be called in question for; which was proved by the Earl of *Anglesea*, Dr. *Burnet*, &c. And the L. *Howard* confessed it; but said, It was his Business at that time to outface the Thing, both for himself and his Party; for he never intended to come in as a Witness at that time.

Other Objections of the Prisoner's.

Then several Men of Quality appeared, and gave the Prisoner a great Character, That he was a Man of Honour, wary, and prudent, and not like to be engaged in such a Design; and particularly Dr. *Tillotson* deposed, That he always deemed the Lord *Russell* a Person of great Virtue and Integrity, and very far from any such wicked Design.

Witnesses to the Prisoner's Character.

Then the Prisoner declared, He always had a Heart sincerely loyal and affectionate to the King and Government; and therefore it was very unlikely he should go about to raise a Rebellion against the Government: He was always for the Government, and never desired any thing to be redressed but in a Parliamentary and legal way: He called Heaven and Earth to witness he never had any Design against the King's Life, and thought there was nothing proved against him.

He asserts his Innocence.

To this Mr. *Finch*, the Solicitor-General, replied, That the Prisoner was indicted of High-Treason in Conspiring the Death of the King;

Reply of the Solicitor-General *Finch*.



AD.1683.

35 Car. II.

King; That the Overt-Act laid to prove that Conspiracy and Imagination was, the assembling in Council to rise in Arms against the King, and raise a Rebellion. But the Lord *Russel* had insisted, *That though these Facts were proved, they amounted to no more than to a Conspiracy to levy War; which was not Treason: To which the Solicitor answered, That a Conspiracy to levy War, was an Overt-Act that testified a Design to kill the King; That nothing was more common than to indict a Man for Imagining the Death of the King, and to assign the Overt-Act in a Conspiracy to raise Arms against the King: That the Consultation also was, to seize upon the King's Guards; which could not be supposed to stop there; this must be in order to seize the King's Person, and bring him into their Power; and a Conspiracy to do this, was Treason beyond all Doubt: Indeed as to killing the King directly, he was apt to think that was below the Honour of the Prisoner at the Bar; but if he and his Party designed to bring the King into their Power, and compel him to consent to such things as should be moved in Parliament, this was no less Treason than if they had actually agreed to assassinate him.*

Mr. Serjeant *Jefferies* also observed, as to the Prisoner's Objection, That there ought to be two Witnesses to the same Fact, That when the Prisoner attended the Trial of the Lord *Stafford*, it was the Opinion of all the Judges approved by Parliament, That where one Witness gave an Account of a Conspiracy in *England*, and another of a Conspiracy in *France*, both of the same Species of Treason, it was sufficient: And the Chief Justice directed the Jury, *That if they found the Prisoner guilty*

guilty of being at those Consults to raise a Rebellion, and seize the King's Guards, that was certainly an Evidence of a Design to seize and destroy the King; and then they must find him guilty.

A.D. 1683.  
35 Car. II.

And the Court adjourning till Four in the Afternoon, the Jury then brought in their Verdict, That the Prisoner was guilty.

L. Russel convicted.

A Petition was presented to the King afterwards for a Pardon; which it seems highly probable would have been granted, if the Prisoner had not insisted to the last, That Resistance was lawful; for it appears that Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet, who attended him while he lay under Sentence of Death, having endeavoured to convince him of the Truth of the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, his Lordship still differed in Opinion from them; which occasioned Dr. Tillotson's writing his Lordship the following Letter.

He might have been pardoned, if he had not maintained the Doctrine of Resistance.

“ My Lord, I was heartily glad to see  
“ your Lordship this Morning in that calm  
“ and devout Temper at the receiving the  
“ Blessed Sacrament; but Peace of Mind,  
“ unless it be well grounded, will avail little;  
“ and because transient Discourse many times  
“ hath little Effect, for want of Time to  
“ weigh and consider it; therefore, in tender  
“ Compassion to your Lordship's Case, and  
“ from all the Good-will that one Man can  
“ bear to another, I do humbly offer to your  
“ Lordship's deliberate Thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Points  
“ of *Resistance*, if your Religion and Rights  
“ should be invaded; as your Lordship puts  
“ the Case; concerning which I understand  
“ by Dr. Burnet that your Lordship had once  
“ received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find  
“ a Change. 1. *That the Christian Religion*  
VOL. XXIII. Y doth

Dr. Tillotson's Letter to Lord Russel, while under Sentence of Death.

A.D. 1683.

35 CAR. II.

doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority :  
 2. That though our Religion be established  
 by Law (which your Lordship urges as a  
 Difference between our Case and that of  
 the Primitive Christians) yet in the same  
 Law which establishes our Religion it is  
 declared, *That it is not lawful, upon any  
 Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms, &c.*  
 Besides, That there is a particular Law,  
 declaring the Power of the Militia to be  
 solely in the King: And that ties the Hands  
 of Subjects, though the Law of Nature,  
 and general Rules of Scripture, had left  
 us at Liberty; which I believe they do not,  
 because the Government, and Peace of  
 human Society, could not well subsist upon  
 these Terms. 3. *Your Lordship's Opinion is  
 contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Prote-  
 stant Churches:* And though some particular  
 Persons have taught otherwise, yet they  
 have been contradicted herein, and con-  
 demned for it by the Generality of Prote-  
 stants. And I beg your Lordship to con-  
 sider, how it will agree with an avowed as-  
 serting the Protestant Religion, *to go con-  
 trary to the general Doctrine of Protestants:*  
*My End in this is to convince your Lordship,*  
*that you are in a very great and dangerous Mis-*  
*take;* and being so convinced, that which  
 before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear  
 of a much more heinous Nature, as in  
 truth it is, and call for a very particular  
 and deep Repentance; which if your Lord-  
 ship sincerely exercise upon the Sight of  
 your Error, by a penitent Acknowledg-  
 ment of it to God and Men, you will  
 not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but  
 prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed  
 Reli-

“ Religion. I am very loth to give your  
 “ Lordship any Disquiet in the Distress you  
 “ are in, which I commiserate from my  
 “ Heart; *but am much more concerned that you*  
 “ *do not leave the World in a Delusion and false*  
 “ *Peace, to the Hindrance of your eternal Happi-*  
 “ *ness.* I heartily pray for you, and beseech  
 “ your Lordship to believe I am, with the  
 “ greatest Sincerity and Compassion in the  
 “ World, my Lord, your Lordship’s most  
 “ faithful and afflicted Servant,

“ TILLOTSON.

To this Letter it will be extremely proper  
 to add a Passage we meet with in the second  
 Edition of Mr. *Echard’s* History, Page 1035.  
 which is as follows.

“ Since the first Edition of this Volume, I  
 “ obtained a Narrative from a great Man,  
 “ taken from Archbishop *Tillotson’s* own  
 “ Mouth, which I thought best to be placed  
 “ by itself; it informs us, That about two  
 “ Days before the Lord *Russel’s* Death, Dr.  
 “ *Tillotson* going to attend upon that unfortu-  
 “ nate Lord, was suddenly stopped by Dr.  
 “ *Burnet* in the Street, who told him, *They had*  
 “ *now some good Hope of saving his Lordship’s Life;*  
 “ *the main Impediment of which being, his avowed*  
 “ *Principle, That Resistance was in some Cases*  
 “ *lawful, he had convinced that Lord of his Mis-*  
 “ *take, and that he was ready to own his Error*  
 “ *in it:* Therefore he desired Dr. *Tillotson* to  
 “ go immediately to the Lord *Harifax* and  
 “ acquaint him with it, who would thereupon  
 “ go again to the King, and use his utmost  
 “ Endeavours to obtain his Pardon. This  
 “ being pressed with some Warmth and Ve-  
 “ hemence, Dr. *Tillotson* went accordingly  
 “ and delivered his Message to the Lord *Ha-*  
 “ *lifax:*

A further  
 Account  
 of Doctor  
*Tillotson’s*  
 Endea-  
 vours to  
 persuade  
*L. Russel*  
 to re-  
 nounce the  
 Doctrine  
 of Resist-  
 ance, in  
 order to  
 procure  
 his Par-  
 don.



A.D. 1683

35 Car. II.

“ *lifax* : But calling upon the Lord *Ruffel* in  
 “ *Newgate* upon his Return, he was very  
 “ much surprized and troubled to find, that  
 “ his Lordship was under no such Conviction,  
 “ as Dr. *Burnet* had hastily believed.

“ Dr. *Tillotson*, vexed and uneasy at what  
 “ he had done, and willing to clear himself  
 “ of it after the best Manner, resolved the  
 “ next Day to try what he could do to bring  
 “ his Lordship to some Change in his Opin-  
 “ ion : But it being the last Day before his  
 “ appointed Execution, and not knowing  
 “ whether he should be able to see him alone,  
 “ he wrote the Letter above mentioned, which  
 “ was soon after printed, and took it in his  
 “ Pocket, resolving, if he could not discourse  
 “ with him, to desire him to read and consi-  
 “ der the Letter he should give to him.

“ He found his Lordship alone, told him  
 “ what he had done, and gave the Letter to  
 “ him ; who read it with great Deliberation,  
 “ and acknowledged to him, That he had  
 “ therein offered more to convince him, than  
 “ he had ever met with before ; That he was  
 “ now satisfied nothing, but a Case of a very  
 “ extraordinary Nature, could justify Subjects  
 “ in taking up Arms against their Prince ;  
 “ That he was fully of Opinion, no such  
 “ Cause had been given by the King to justi-  
 “ fy any such Attempt against him : But still  
 “ he thought such Circumstances there might  
 “ be, in which it would be lawful for them  
 “ to resist. Being asked by the Doctor, What  
 “ those Cases were ; he answered, He had  
 “ not considered the Matter so far and fully,  
 “ as he had other things more proper to be  
 “ thought on at that time.

“ On



“ On the same Evening Dean *Tillotson* waited again upon the Lord *Halifax*, to account to him what Mistake he had been led into, and what he had done upon it: And the better to justify himself, shewed him the very Letter he had written to the Lord *Russel*. While that Lord was reading it, Sir *Thomas Clarges* came in; and after a little time the Dean took Leave, my Lord *Halifax* putting the Letter into his Pocket, and promising to be answerable for it. But in the mean time Sir *Thomas* not only found Opportunity to read it, but to take a Copy of it; and from that Copy (and I think by his means) it was very soon after printed.

“ On the Evening of the next Day, when the Lord *Russel* was executed, Dean *Tillotson* was sent for to the Cabinet-Council, and carefully examined touching that Lord's Behaviour before and at his Death. The King particularly commended the Dean's Letter, and wondered what could be said to it. He told his Majesty the Lord's Opinion, That such Circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful to resist; and further intimated, as though it was his own, That it was not impossible to find out a Case of Exception, though he would not presently pretend to specify it. The Duke of *York*, who was willing to believe there were none, with some Warmth urged him to name the Case; and not being satisfied, the King more mildly said, Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest Man; press him no further. After which he told his Majesty, That the Lord *Russel* had declared to him, That he was persuaded the

“ King

A.D. 1683. “ King had never done any thing to justify  
 35 Car. II. “ any one in rebelling against him; That he  
 “ never had any such Thought himself, and  
 “ kept Company with those unhappy Men, only to  
 “ preserve the Duke of Monmouth from being  
 “ led into any rash Undertakings by them; and  
 “ more particularly by the Earl of Shaftsbury.  
 “ Being then asked, Why the Lord *Russel*  
 “ did not discover their Designs to the King;  
 “ his Answer was, That that Lord had said,  
 “ He could not betray his Friends, nor turn  
 “ Informer against them, while he saw there  
 “ was no Danger; but if Things had come  
 “ to a Crisis, he would have contrived some  
 “ Notice to have been given the King of it;  
 “ and, in case of Violence, would himself  
 “ have been ready to oppose them with his  
 “ Sword in his Hand.

“ The King himself confirmed the Truth  
 “ of the greatest Part of this Account; and,  
 “ in Conclusion, said, *James* (meaning the  
 “ Duke of *Monmouth*) has told me the same  
 “ thing.

Whatever Credit we are to give to this  
 Relation of Mr. *Echard*'s, it is certain, when  
 the Lord *Russel* was beheaded, he left with the  
 Sheriffs a Paper of the following Tenor; which  
 it appeared afterwards was drawn up for him  
 by Dr. *Burnet*. In this Paper he is made to  
 say, That, “ he blessed God, he was born  
 “ of worthy good Parents, and had the Ad-  
 “ vantage of a religious Education; which  
 “ for many Years had so influenced and pos-  
 “ sessed him, that he felt the Effects of it in  
 “ his present Extremity: That as he had lived  
 “ so he died, a true and sincere Protestant,  
 “ and in the Communion of the Church of  
 “ *England*; though he could never yet comply  
 “ with,

The Sub-  
 stance of  
 L. *Russel*'s  
 Speech.

“ with, or rise up to, all the Heights of some  
 “ People ; That he had always loved his  
 “ Country much more than his Life, and  
 “ never had any Design of changing the Go-  
 “ vernment ; which he valued and looked up-  
 “ on as one of the best Governments in the  
 “ World, and would have suffered any Ex-  
 “ tremity, rather than consented to any De-  
 “ sign to take away the King’s Life : That  
 “ for the King, he wished him well, and sin-  
 “ cerely prayed for him ; That the Protestant  
 “ Religion, the Peace and Safety of the  
 “ Kingdom, might flourish under his Govern-  
 “ ment ; and that he in his Person might be  
 “ happy both here and hereafter : That as  
 “ for the Share which he had in the Prose-  
 “ cution of the Popish Plot, he proceeded in  
 “ it in the Sincerity of his Heart, being fully  
 “ convinced, that there was a Conspiracy  
 “ against the King, the Nation, and the Pro-  
 “ testant Religion : That as for his present  
 “ Condition, he had no Repinings in his  
 “ Heart at it ; and that he freely forgave the  
 “ World, and those concerned in taking away  
 “ his Life ; conjuring his Friends never to  
 “ think of Revenge : He denied that he was  
 “ privy to the Undertaking of seizing the  
 “ Guards ; but owned there was some Dis-  
 “ course at Mr. *Shephard*’s about the Feasible-  
 “ ness of it, and several times by accident in  
 “ general Discourse elsewhere, he had heard  
 “ it mentioned as a Thing might easily be  
 “ done, but never consented to it as fit to  
 “ be done ; and particularly at the Lord  
 “ *Shaftsbury*’s he flew out and exclaimed a-  
 “ gainst it : He further owned, That at Mr.  
 “ *Shephard*’s there were some things said with  
 “ more Heat than Judgment, which he did  
 “ suffi-



A.D. 1683. " sufficiently disapprove ; yet for these he  
 35 Car. II. " stood condemned : But he thanked God,  
 " his Part was sincere and well meant : His  
 " being acquainted with these ill Designs,  
 " was but Misprision at most ; and so he di-  
 " ed innocent of the Crime he stood con-  
 " demned for : He thought it a strange Fetch,  
 " That the Design of seizing the Guards,  
 " should be construed a Design of killing the  
 " King. Towards the Conclusion, to sum  
 " up all, he declared, as he never had any  
 " Design against the King, or the Life of  
 " any Man whatsoever ; so he never was in  
 " any Contrivance for altering the Govern-  
 " ment : He could not repress the Heats and  
 " Wickednesses of other Men, though he  
 " now suffered for them."

Remarks  
 on Lord  
 Russell's  
 Professions  
 of his In-  
 nocence.

To which his Lordship added upon the Scaffold, *That he knew nothing of a Plot either against the King's Life or Government* : Which can be accounted for, no other way, than by supposing that his Lordship really believed, that by the Constitution of the Government, the People, or their Representatives in Parliament, had a Power of Restraining the King's Authority, and calling him to account ; and consequently his consulting to do this, ought to be interpreted, as a Design to support the Government rather than to destroy it. Possibly, he might have no Intention either to kill or depose the King, but to compel him to govern according to what his Lordship and his Friends held agreeable to the Laws and Constitution : But as there were others joined with this Party, who intended evidently to go greater Lengths, there is all the Reason in the World to apprehend, that this would have ended in the Destruction of the King

King and Constitution. And it is therefore with the highest Reason, that this, and all other Governments, construe a Design to make War upon their Sovereign, or to compel him to enter into their Measures; a Design against his Life.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

That very Morning the Lord *Russel* was tried, the Earl of *Essex*, who had been committed to the *Tower* for the same Treason, was found in his Chamber, with his Throat cut, which the Whigs of those Times used to charge upon the King and the Duke of *York*; but this, even their Enemy Doctor *Burnet*, acquits them of: And *Echard* has given us such a Narrative of that Accident, as must banish all Suspicion of foul Play, among Men of common Sense: Which Narrative is in these Words.

The Earl of  
*Essex*  
found  
with his  
Throat cut.

Since the Manner of the Earl's Death has been made a Question, I here subjoin an Extract of two Letters sent me in the Months of *September* and *October*, 1719, from a Person of full Credit and Worth; who had the truest Honour and Respect for that noble Lord; which says, "I was then one of the Family of that very worthy, but unhappy Earl of *Essex*, who died in the *Tower* by his own Hands, &c. He was really an excellent Person, but happened by Lyes and false Suggestions to be exasperated against the King by a very ill designing Man (the Earl of *Shaftsbury*.) There were two or three Pamphlets published, especially one large one, by *Speke* and *Brad-*  
"don, to prove that he was murdered in the *Tower*: But I do believe, and I think I am as sure, as I can be of a Thing I did not see, that the Earl in a sudden Trans-

The most  
probable  
Account  
of that  
Matter.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.



port of Passion was the Author of his own Death. As soon as his Lady the Countess, heard there was a Report of his being murdered (for none of the Pamphlets were then published) about four Days after his Death she sent me with Letters to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who married the Earl of *Essex's* Sister, to Sir *Henry Capel*, afterwards Lord *Capel*, the Earl's only Brother ; and to Doctor *Walter Needham*, their Physician and Friend ; and desired, and impowered us four to take all Care we could, and to spare no Charge to enquire fully into that Matter. Accordingly, we four met at *Essex-House* in *St. James's-Square*, and sent for the Coroner and several of the Jury ; and I my self went to the *Tower* to see the Room, and to consider how what they said, corresponded : And I must truly say, that every one of us was fully satisfied, That it could be done by no Body but by himself : And so I dare say was the Countess satisfied ; and so was Doctor *Burnet* ; tho' he was the Person, who gave the Countess the first Notice of the Report of his being murdered, which gave Beginning to the Enquiry. We all four loved and honoured him so entirely, that if we had found any just Ground of thinking otherwise, we should not have concealed it. I could say Abundance more if I had Time ; and if you should be at *London* in *November*, I shall be glad to see you. Be sure not to misdate the Time of his Death, as some have done. The Earl was by an Order of Council, seized at *Casbiobury*, on Monday Afternoon, July 9th. He was brought to *Whitehall* that Night, and lodged

ged



ged in the Lord *Feverſham's* Lodgings. On *A.D. 1683.*  
*Tuesday, July 10th,* he was ſent to the *Tower.* On *Friday Morning* next, *July 13th,* he died about Eight a Clock, juſt  
after the Lord *Ruffel* was carried out to  
be tried. I aſſure you the moſt ſolemnly  
that can be, that what I ſay is true, ac-  
cording to the beſt of my Judgment.”

But to proceed in the Trials of the reſt *Rouſe* tried  
of the Conſpirators. The Day after the and con-  
Lord *Ruffel's*, came on the Trials of *John* victed.  
*Rouſe*, and Captain *William Blague*. Againſt  
*Rouſe* it was proved, That he propoſed the  
engaging ſeveral Men to ſeize the *Tower*,  
and the Guardſhips in the River, and the  
Killing the King and Duke: That he had  
ſaid, *Whatever the King had, the Parliament*  
*gave him; and they might take it away if they*  
*pleaſed: The King had forfeited his Crown,*  
*and had no more Right to it than himſelf.* And  
the Priſoner did not deny the Diſcourſe  
concerning the ſeizing the *Tower*, and the  
King's Ships: but ſaid, *Thomas Lea* the Wit-  
neſs began the Treasonable Diſcourſe,  
which he (the Priſoner) intended to have  
diſcovered: As to Captain *Blague*, who was *Blague* ac-  
charged with the ſame Deſign of ſeizing the quitted.  
*Tower* and the Ships in the River, he was  
acquitted for Want of ſufficient Evidence.

*Walcot, How, and Rouſe* were executed at *Walcot*,  
*Tyburn*, the 20th of *July*. *Walcot* did not *How, and*  
deny his being concerned in the Conſpiracy *Rouſe* exe-  
in general, when he came to die; but ſaid, *cuted.*  
he had no ſhare in that Part againſt the *They con-*  
King's Life; though he confeſſed, it had been *feſs the*  
propoſed when he was preſent, and there- *Subſtance*  
fore he ſuffered juſtly. *How*, on the other *of the*  
hand, acknowledged, he had propoſed the *Charge.*  
Killing



A.D. 1683. Killing the King ; but said, he was for saving the Duke of York. Rouse confessed he deserved his Sentence, having heard and understood too much at several Meetings ; and in his Prayer at the Gallows, heartily repented of his Treasons, wishing the King a prosperous Reign. The next Day, viz. the 21st of July, the Lord *Russel* was beheaded on a Scaffold in *Lincolns-Imm-Fields*, and left behind him the Paper already mentioned.

Lord *Russel*  
beheaded.

The  
Whigs lose  
Ground on  
the Discon-  
fession of  
this Plot.

Decree of  
the Uni-  
versity of  
*Oxford*, a-  
gainst the  
Doctrine  
of Resist-  
ance, &c.

This Conspiracy of the *Presbyterians* and *Republicans*, so evidently proved, and even confessed by the Sufferers, opened the Eyes of Abundance of deluded People, and made them look upon that Set of Men with Detestation and Abhorrence, who under Pretence of standing up for Religion, and the Liberties and Privileges of the People, were found to be aiming at nothing else, but the Destruction of the Monarchy, erecting a Republick, and endeavouring to throw us into another Civil War, in order to effect it. But none shewed a deeper Resentment of the Principles and Practices of these Republicans, than the University of *Oxford*, who passed a Decree, and presented it to his Majesty, entitled, *The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, passed in their Convocation, July 21st, 1683, against certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, destructive to the Sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society* : In the Preamble whereof they say, " That although the barbarous Assassination, lately enterprized against the Person of his Sacred Majesty and his Royal Brother, engage all our Thoughts to reflect with the utmost Detestation and Abhorrence, on the execrable Villany hatefull to God

God and Man, and pay our due Acknowledgments to the Divine Providence, which by extraordinary Methods brought it to pass, that the Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord, is not taken in the Pit, which was prepared for him ; and that under his Shadow we continue to live and enjoy the Blessings of his Government : Yet notwithstanding we find it to be a necessary Duty at this Time, to search into, and lay open those impious Doctrines, which have of late been studiously disseminated, and gave rise and Growth to these nefarious Attempts ; and pass upon them our solemn publick Censure and Decree of Condemnation.

“ Therefore to the Honour of the Holy and undivided Trinity, the Preservation of Catholick Truth in the Church, and that the King's Majesty may be secured, both from the Attempts of open, bloody Enemies, and Machinations of treacherous Hereticks and Schismatics ; We the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and Masters, Regent and not Regent, met in Convocation in the accustomed Manner, Time and Place, on *Saturday*, the one and Twentieth Day of *July* in the Year 1683, concerning certain Propositions contained in divers Books and Writings, published in the *English*, and also in the *Latin* Tongue, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the Fathers, the Faith and Profession of the Primitive Church, and also destructive of the King's Government, the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the Laws of Nature, and Bonds of human Society ; by our unanimous Assent  
“ and

A.D. 1683. "and Consent, have decreed and determined, in Manner and Form following."

35 Car. II.

Books containing the Propositions condemned.

*Then they proceed to enumerate Twenty seven Propositions, collected out of several Modern Authors; such as Buchanan, Bellarmine, Milton, Dolman, Hobbes, Goodwin, Owen, Baxter, Jenkins, Goodman, Julian, The Protestant Reconciler, &c. some whereof I shall select and recite.*

Some of the Propositions recited.

1. All Civil Power is derived originally from the People.

2. There is a mutual Compact, tacit or express, between a Prince and his Subjects, and if he perform not his Duty, they are discharged from theirs.

3. That if Civil Governors become Tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the Laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the Right they had to their Government; *Lex Rex. Buchan. de Jure Regni. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Bellarm. de Conciliis, de Pontifice, Milton, Goodwin, Baxter, H. C.*

6. It is lawful for Subjects, without the Consent, and against the Command of the supreme Magistrate, to enter into Leagues, Covenants and Associations, for Defence of themselves, and their Religion. *Solemn League and Covenant. Association.*

7. Self-Preservation is the Fundamental Law of Nature, and supercedes the Obligation of all others, whensoever they stand in Competition with it. *Hobbes de Cive, Leviathan.*

9. There lies no Obligation upon Christians to Passive Obedience, when the Prince commands any Thing against the Laws of our Country: And the Primitive Christians chose rather



rather to die than to resist, because Christianity was not settled by the Laws of the Empire. *Julian the Apostate.*

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

10. Possession and Strength give a Right to govern; and Success in a Cause or Enterprize, proclaims it to be lawful and just: To pursue it, is to comply with the Will of God; because it is to follow the Conduct of his Providence; *Hobbes. Owen's Sermon before the Regicides, Januarii 31, 1648. Baxter. Jenkins's Petition, Octob. 1641.*

15. If a People, that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, shall sinfully dispossess him; and contrary to their Covenants chuse and covenant with another; they may be obliged by their latter Covenant, notwithstanding their former. *Baxter H. C.*

17. An Oath obliges not in the Sense of the Imposers, but the Takers. *Sheriffs Case.*

20. The Presbyterian Government is the Sceptre of Christ's Kingdom, to which Kings as well as others are bound to submit; and the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, as asserted by the Church of *England*, is injurious to Christ, the sole King and Head of the Church. *Altare Damascenum. Apologet. Relat. Hist. of Indulgences. Cartwright. Transverse.*

21. It is not lawful for Superiors to impose any Thing in the Worship of God, that is not antecedently necessary. *Protest. Reconciler.*

23. Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to Death: And if the Judges and inferior Magistrates will not do their Office, the Power of the Sword devolves to the People. If the major Part of the People refuse to exercise this Power; then the Ministers may excommunicate such a King: After



A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

ter which, it is lawful for any of his Subjects to kill him, as the People did *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabel*.

26. King *Charles I*, was lawfully put to Death; and his Murderers were the blessed Instruments of God's Glory, in their Generations. *Milton. Goodwin. Owen.*

27. King *Charles I*, made War upon his Parliament; and in such a Case, the King may not only be resisted; but he ceaseth to be King. *Baxter.*

*Then the University adds;*

" We decree, judge, and declare, all and every of these Propositions to be False, Seditionous, and Impious: And most of the mal-  
" so, to be Heretical and Blasphemous, infamous to the *Christian* Religion, and destructive of all Government in Church and  
" State.

" They forbid the Members of the University to read these Books; and order them to be burnt in the Court of their  
" Schools.

" They Order all Tutors, Catechists, &c. to instruct their Scholars in that most necessary Doctrine, the Badge and Character of the Church of *England*; Of submitting  
" to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as Supreme, &c.  
" Teaching, That this Submission and Obedience is to be clear and Absolute, and without any  
" Exception of any State or Order of Men.

The King having received this Testimony of the University of *Oxford's* Loyalty, and Addresses from all Parts of the Kingdom of the same Tenor, thought fit to publish a Proclamation on the 28th of *July*, concerning a Narrative of the Plot, with the

Disco-

Discovery and Disappointment of the Con-  
spirators; and ordered a Thanksgiving to  
be observed on this Occasion on the 9th of  
*September*; ordering the said Declaration to  
be read in all Churches on *Sunday* the 2d  
Day of *September*, as well as on the Thank-  
sgiving Day: And no Festival, 'tis observed,  
was ever solemnized with greater Testimonies  
of the Peoples Joy. There were also great  
Rejoicings about the same Time, for the Mar-  
riage of the Princess *Anne*, younger Daugh-  
ter to the Duke of *York*, to Prince *George*,  
Brother to the King of *Denmark*, and a Pro-  
testant Prince, on the 28th of *July*; the Prin-  
cess being then about nineteen Years of  
Age.

A.D. 1683;  
35. Car. II.  
A Thank-  
giving for  
the Disco-  
very of the  
Plot.

The Prin-  
cess *Anne*  
married to  
the Prince  
of *Den-*  
*mark*.

The Election of Sheriffs, which used to  
be on the 24th of *June*, was this Year ad-  
journd to the 5th of *December*; when the  
Livery-men confirmed the Lord-Mayor's  
Choice of Sir *Peter Daniel*, and chose *Samuel*  
*Dashwood* Esq; for the other Sheriff. At the  
same Time, Mr. Deputy *Ailworth* was cho-  
sen Chamberlain, in the Room of Sir *Tho-*  
*mas Player*, who was displaced. These Elec-  
tions were made without any Tumult or  
Riot, the Whigs not thinking fit to provoke  
the Government any further, now their trea-  
sonable Conspiracies were discovered, and  
they were under Prosecution for them. How-  
ever, lest the City might one Day make  
Choice of the like seditious Magistrates they  
had done formerly, the King, as has been  
hinted already, took the Advantage of the  
City's neglecting to subscribe their Submissi-  
on; and the Attorney-General actually en-  
tered up the Judgment on the *Quo Warranto*,  
on the 4th of *October*: Whereupon, his Ma-  
jesty

Sheriffs,  
&c. cho-  
sen.

Judgment  
entred on  
the *Quo*  
*Warranto*  
against the  
City.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. hold their Offices by the King's Commission.

jeſty granted a Commiſſion to Sir *W. Pritchard*, the preſent Lord Mayor, to execute that Office during Pleaſure: He alſo granted Commiſſions to *Daniel* and *Dafhwood*, the Sheriffs, and to Mr. *Fenner*, whom he appointed Recorder in the room of Mr. *Treby*, who was now diſplaced: And on *St. Simon and Jude's Day*, when the Lord Mayor uſed to be ſworn in the Exchequer, the King granted a Commiſſion to Sir *Henry Tuſſe* to execute the Office of Lord Mayor during Pleaſure; who made the uſual Cavalcade through the City, and was ſworn in accordingly.

Serjeant *Jeffreys* made Lord Chief Juſtice.

The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, Sir *Edward Saunders*, dying about the Time Judgment was given againſt the City of *London*, Sir *George Jeffreys*, the King's Serjeant, ſucceeded him in that Poſt; before whom Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and one who had been deeply concerned in the late Uſurpation, as well as the preſent Conſpiracy, was arraigned on the 7th of *September*, and brought to his Trial the 27th of the ſame Month.

*Sidney's Trial.*

The Subſtance of the Indiſt-ment.

The principal Articles laid in the Indiſt-ment, as Overt-Aſts of his treaſonable Intentions, were, his meeting and conſulting to levy War, and ſubvert the Government; his being concerned in ſending *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to invite the *Scots* to join the *Engliſh* Malecontents; and his being the Author of a ſeditious Libel, wherein it is ſaid, That the Power, originally in the People of England, is delegated to the Parliament: The King is ſubject to the Law of God, as he is a Man; and to the People that make him King, inasmuch as he is a King, &c.

Several

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.



Several Witnesſes being called, who gave an Account of the Plot in general, the Priſoner objected, That no Evidence ought to be produced but directly againſt himſelf; and that he apprehended this was done to prejudice the Jury againſt him: Whereupon the Chief Juſtice bid him remember the Trials about the Popiſh Plot, where there was conſtantly given a general Account of the Plot in the firſt Place; and that Sir *William Jones*, againſt whom he could make no Objection, was Attorney at that Time.

Lord Howard's Evidence againſt him.

Then the Lord *Howard* depoſed, That the principal Conſpirators agreed, the preceding *January*, to form a Council or Cabal of Six, to manage the Conſpiracy; the Members whereof were, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Effex*, the Lord *Ruffel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hampden*, and himſelf; and that the latter End of the ſame Month they had a Meeting at Mr. *Hampden's* Houſe; and there they conſidered when and where the Inſurrection ſhould begin, what Magazines and Money were wanting: That a Fortnight or three Weeks after they had another Meeting at *Southampton-Houſe* (the Lord *Ruffel's*) and it being debated, What Answer they ſhould give to Perſons whoſe Aſſiſtance they expected; it was agreed to reſolve all into the Power of the Parliament, and that they intended nothing but the Publick Good: Then they conſidered the ſettling an Underſtanding with the Lord *Argile*, and ſome leading Men in *Scotland*; and it was agreed to diſpatch *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to negotiate that Affair; and that a Letter ſhould be ſent to Sir *John Cochrane*, under the Diſguiſe of carrying on Buſineſs in *Carolina*: That he ſaw the Priſoner



*AD. 1683.* (Colonel *Sidney*) afterwards put sixty Guineas in his Pocket, which he told the Deponent were for *Aaron Smith*; That he after that told him *Smith* was gone, and he had heard from him about *Newcastle*: And the Prisoner being asked by the Court, If he would ask that Witness any Questions; answered, He had no Questions to ask him.

Sir Andrew  
Foster's  
Evidence.

Sir *Andrew Foster* deposed, That Sir *John Cochrane* and the *Campbells* came to *London* last Summer; and that Sir *John* pretended they came to make a Purchase in *Carolina*.

*Lloyd, &c.*  
their Evi-  
dence of  
the Libel.

Sir *Philip Lloyd* deposed, That the treasonable Libel mentioned in the Indictment was found in the Prisoner's Study.

Mr. *Shephard* and Mr. *Cary* deposed, That they had seen the Prisoner's Hand in several Bills of Exchange; and they believed the Libel to be the Prisoner's Hand.

The Pri-  
soner's De-  
fence.

The Prisoner in his Defence answered, That a Similitude of Hands was no Evidence of a Man's Hand-writing; besides, the Ink appeared to be old, the Papers might have been written twenty Years before; It was a polemical Discourse, an Answer to *Filmar*, and not calculated for any particular Government, and they would have them bear a Relation to this Plot; He knew of none, nor was in none, and abhorred the Design as much as any Man: However, it was not proved upon him; and if it was, it was no Crime; it was a Right of Mankind, and exercised by all studious Men, to write in their own Closets what they pleased for their own Remembrance, and no Man was answerable for it, unless it was published: And insisted further, That there ought to be two Witnesses to the same Fact; That the Lord *Howard* only spoke  
of

of the select Council of Six, and was but one Witness; and the other of a Libel, or Paper, written no body knew when; and which was another Fact. Then the Prisoner objected to the Lord *Howard's* Testimony, That he had confessed himself guilty of Treason, and would save himself by accusing others; That the Prisoner had lent that Lord Money, who hoped to avoid paying the Debt by prosecuting him: He insisted also, as the Lord *Russel* had done, That a Conspiracy to levy War, could not be construed a Design against the King's Life.

A.D. 1683  
35 Car. II.

To this the King's Council replied, That Meeting and Consulting to raise Arms had been adjudged an Overt-Act to prove a Man guilty of Conspiring the King's Death; and as to the Business of two Witnesses, one Witness to one Overt-Act, and another to another Overt-Act of the same Species of Treason, had been held sufficient; particularly in the Lord *Stafford's* Case. *And indeed these two Points have been so resolved ever since the Revolution.*

The Reply of the King's Council.

That as to the Papers found in the Prisoner's Study, they were proved to be his Writing by as good Proof as the Thing was capable of. *Similitude of Hands has been held sufficient to prove a Man's Hand-writing in the Lord Preston's Case, and at several other Trials since the Revolution.*

The Lord Chief Justice having summed up the Evidence, directed the Jury to find the Prisoner guilty, giving all the Points of Law he had stated against him; and Judge *Withins* declared, That the whole Bench concurred with his Lordship: Whereupon he was convicted, and Sentence passed upon the Prisoner,

The Chief Justice directs the Jury to find him guilty. He is convicted and condemned. as ed.

A.D. 1683. as usual in Cases of High-Treason; however,  
35 Car. II. his Attainder was reversed in Parliament at  
 the Revolution.

*Sidney* glories that  
 he died for  
 the Good  
 Old Cause.

But whether *Sidney* was convicted on incompetent Evidence or not, I believe few doubt of his being guilty of the Facts he was charged with; namely, the Concerting an Insurrection with the *Scottish* Malecontents, and fomenting one at home; especially when he thanks God in his last Prayer, That he had singled him out to be a Witness of the Truth, and that he died, by the Confession of his Opposers, for that OLD CAUSE, in which he was from his Youth engaged, and for which God had often wonderfully declared himself. It appears that when he was very young he took Arms against King *Charles I.* and deserved so well of the Usurpers, that he was nominated one of the King's Judges. At the Restoration he refused to lay hold of the Act of Oblivion, but remained in Banishment till the Year 1667, when he returned to *England*, and obtained a Pardon for himself, upon repeated Promises of Obedience to his Majesty for the time to come; and yet was he found amongst the forwardest to enter into a Conspiracy against the King. This is the Man whose Fate is so much lamented by all the Sons of Whiggism; for never was there a more inveterate Enemy to Monarchy. He had, however, the most painful and ignominious Part of the Sentence remitted, being beheaded on *Tower-Hill* on the seventh of *December*, 1683.

He is beheaded.

Duke of *Monmouth* confesses the Plot.

But what rendered it impossible to doubt of the Truth of the Plot, or of *Sidney's* Share in it, was, the Duke of *Monmouth's* surrendering himself during this Trial, and making an ample Confession of the intended Insurrection.



tion. This Nobleman, finding himself on the Point of being outlawed, thought fit to write to his Majesty, and endeavour to awaken his former Tenderneſs for this his once beloved Son.

In the firſt Letter he diſclaims having any Share in the Aſſaffination; but begs Pardon, both of the King and Duke, for the many things he had done that had made them angry with him, but eſpecially the Duke; though it might be ſome Juſtification of himſelf, he ſaid, that many People had made him believe, the Duke intended to deſtroy him: And as to the King, he proteſted all he had done was with an Intent to ſave his Maſteſty; as he would convince him, if he could be ſo happy to ſpeak to him: He had that to ſay to him, that would ſettle his Maſteſty in Quiet in his Kingdom, and the Duke after him, whom he intended to ſerve to the utmoſt of his Power; and deſired the Duke might be by, when he ſhould ſpeak to the King, and no body elſe: Concluding in theſe Words; “ And now, Sir, “ I do ſwear to you, That from this time I “ will never diſpleaſe you in any thing, but “ the whole Study of my Life ſhall be, to “ ſhew how truly penitent I am for having “ done it, and how well *I will deſerve the Life you give me*\*. And for the Duke, that he “ may have a more firm Confidence of the “ Service I intend to do him, *I do here declare, “ That I will never aſk to ſee your Face more, “ if ever I do any thing againſt him*; which is “ the greateſt Curſe I can lay upon my ſelf.

His firſt  
Letter to  
the King.

\* In what Senſe could the King be ſaid to give him his Life, if he had not forfeited it by Treafon?



A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

The King's  
Answer.D. Mon-  
mouth's  
second  
Letter.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, his Majesty wrote the Duke of *Monmouth* this short Answer.

“ If the Duke of *Monmouth* desires to make himself capable of my Mercy, he must render himself to the Secretary, and resolve to tell me all he knows, resigning himself entirely to my Pleasure.” Whereupon *Monmouth* wrote his Majesty a second Letter; wherein he confesses, *He had been insensibly engaged in Things of which the Consequence was not enough understood by him; and that he had been betrayed into very fatal Mistakes; for which he had such Remorse, that, could it be seen, he was assured would move his Majesty's Compassion; and humbly begged to be admitted to his Feet, to be disposed of as his Majesty should direct, for the remainder of his Life; but begged that no Penalty might be inflicted on him that might lay a Stain\* upon his innocent Children; That he might not undergo the Ignominy of a Trial, or of being sent to the Tower. These Matters, he said, he laid before his Majesty in the most submissive Manner, and with an entire Resignation in what he should determine: Nor did he imagine he should receive his Majesty's Pardon, but by the Intercession of the Duke; whom he acknowledged he had offended, and was prepared to submit himself in the humblest Manner, not in an outward Form, but with all the Sincerity in the World; That he was sensible how ill a Guide his own Will had been to him, and was resolved for the future to put it entirely into his Majesty Hands: Con-*

\* How could his Blood be stained, if he was not guilty of Treason?

cluding with these Words; " Dear Sir, be pleased to revive, by a kind Answer, the most miserable, disconsolate Creature now living.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

MONMOUTH.

The Duke of *Monmouth* surrendering himself to Secretary *Jenkins* the 24th of *November*, was introduced by him to the King and Duke of *York*: Of which Interview the following Notes were published by Authority;

The Duke of *Monmouth* surrenders himself.

25 *Novembris*, 1683.

" Yesterday the Duke of *Monmouth* came and surrendered himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and desired to speak alone with the King and Duke; which was granted him: He first threw himself at his Majesty's Feet, *acknowledging his Guilt, and the Share he had in the Conspiracy\**, and asked his Pardon; and then confessed himself faulty to the Duke, and asked his Pardon also; and assured him, if he should survive his Majesty, that he would pay him all the Duty that became a loyal Subject, and be the first that should draw his Sword for him, should there be Occasion. He then desired his Majesty would not oblige him to be a Witness; and then gave an Account of the whole Conspiracy, naming all those concerned in it; which were more than those that had already been mentioned by the several Witnesses. When he had made an end of his Confession, his Majesty ordered him to be put into the Custody of a Serjeant at Arms; this Day admitted him to his Presence, and ordered a Stop to be put to the Outlawry,

His Confession.

\* Will any Man after this say there was no Plot?

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

“ and promised him his Pardon : He further  
 “ added, That *Dodlor Owen, Mead, Grif-*  
 “ *fin, and all the considerable Non-conformist Mi-*  
 “ *nisters, knew of the Conspiracy.\**

The Duke  
 of Mon-  
 mouth re-  
 lapses;

Upon this Confession his Majesty declared  
 in Council, he had received perfect Satisfac-  
 tion; and ordered his Pardon to be dispatch-  
 ed: He was also pleased to indulge the Duke  
 of *Monmouth* so far, as to promise he should  
 not be obliged to give Evidence against any  
 Man. However, *Monmouth's* Pardon was no  
 sooner sealed, but he associated with the same  
 disaffected People again; and it was given  
 out, That *the Duke of Monmouth had made*  
*no Confession; but, on the contrary, had asserted*  
*the Innocence of some that had suffered.* Where-  
 upon the King expostulated with *Monmouth*  
 and let him know, that he expected some  
 publick Testimony of his Confession, that  
 might satisfy the whole Nation of the Truth  
 of the Conspiracy, as well as himself and the  
 Duke of *York*: Which the Duke of *Monmouth*  
 seemed to acknowledge very expedient, and  
 readily signed the following Paper; viz.

acknow-  
 ledges his  
 Guilt again  
 under his  
 Hand.

“ I have heard of some Reports of me, a  
 “ if I should have lessened the late Plot, and  
 “ gone about to discredit the Evidence given  
 “ against those who died by Justice: You  
 “ Majesty and the Duke know how ingenu-  
 “ ously I have owned the late Conspiracy  
 “ and though I was not conscious of any De-  
 “ sign against your Majesty's Life, yet I la-  
 “ ment the having had so great a Share in the  
 “ other Part of the said Conspiracy. Sir,  
 “ have taken the Liberty to put this in Wri-

\* No Wonder the Dissenters deny the Plot, when the  
 were all in it.

“ tin

ting for my own Vindication; and I be-  
 seech you look forward, and endeavour  
 to forget the Faults you have forgiven  
 me : I will take care never to commit any  
 more against you, or come within the  
 Danger of being again misled from my  
 Duty ; but make it the Business of my  
 Life, to deserve the Pardon your Majesty  
 hath granted to your dutiful,

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

MONMOUTH.

But notwithstanding these Confessions, there  
 is nothing to be inferred from them Bishop  
*Burnet* suggests : They were forced from the  
 Duke ; or the Lord *Hallifax* prevailed on him  
 to make them, only to serve a Turn : And  
 he might safely acknowledge a Plot ; for that  
 was a general Word, and might signify as  
 much, or as little as a Man pleased.

Doctor  
*Burnet* en-  
 deavours to  
 evade the  
 Force of  
 these Con-  
 fessions.

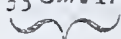
But, for a Man to make Use of Words,  
 which he knows his Hearers (according to  
 the natural Construction of them, and the  
 Circumstances he is in) must understand in  
 such a certain Sense, and reserve another  
 Meaning to himself, is such an intolerable  
 Abuse of Speech, as must render all Com-  
 merce with Mankind impracticable : And  
 surely, this is a Practice, that was never a-  
 vowed by any, but the Whigs. The *Jesuits*,  
 if they are guilty of the like Evasions, are  
 however so modest, as not to defend, or  
 boast of them : This was reserved for our  
*British* Saints, for Bishop *Burnet* and his  
 Friends ; who make such solemn Declarati-  
 ons against common Lying : They don't scrup-  
 le, it seems, any evasive Arts, and the de-  
 ceiving their Neighbours, as grossly, as any  
 common Lyar can : But they always do it in

Some An-  
 swer to his  
 Suggesti-  
 ons.



A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.



such a Manner, as to be able to laugh at the Man they have deceived, because he was such a Blockhead not to discover, that the Words dressed up with some other Circumstances than they were spoken, would have born another Sense : And this is the Subject of a double Triumph ; for, they do not only by their Equivocations wrong their Neighbours, but out-wit him too. In the Duke of *Monmouth's* Case, there could be very little Colour to interpret the Word *Plot* in any other Sense, than the King understood it : For here the Duke was charged with a Conspiracy, for which several Persons had been tried and executed ; he had upon his Examination acknowledged his Share in that Conspiracy, as far as it related to the Infurrection ; nay, he had particularly distinguished between the Assassination and the intended Rebellion, and given a particular Account of the latter, and of the principal Conspirators concerned in it : And after this, would any Man, but Bishop *Burnet*, or his Disciples, suggest, that any other Plot or Design could be intended than the Conspiracy with which he was charged, and had confessed his Share in ? At this Rate, how difficult must it be, to carry on any Commerce or Correspondence with a Whig ? With what Care must we consider every Thing he writes, to discover how many several Ways his Words may be understood, and what secret Reserves he may retain to deceive us at last, when we have used all the Caution that Prudence can suggest ?

*Burnet* acknowledges there were dangerous Consults, and then denies there were any such.

But after all, the Bishop is so good to acknowledge, *That they (the Conspirators) had certainly dangerous Consultations among them*, which might well be called *Plots*, Page 575 : But

how

how does this agree with what he has so often affirmed, *That all was but Talk: That it was no more than rambling Discourse: Where was the great Danger of rambling Discourse, or how could such Discourse be called a dangerous Consultation?*

Upon the whole, Doctor Burnet seems to admit, that the Conspirators did think, *That when their Liberties were invaded, the King might be compelled by Force to restore them: They did also look upon their Rights and Liberties to be then invaded; and did often meet and consult how to relieve themselves, and compel the King to yield to their Demands:* So far, I think our Author does not scruple to acknowledge. But then he says, they had not fixed upon any Time or Place, to execute their Purpose; and therefore, though they might be said to be in a Plot, they were not guilty of Treason. This seems to be the whole Force of his Argument. But it must be considered, that either the putting such a Design in Execution, would have been Treason or not: If it would not, then indeed the Design could not be treasonable; but if the putting a Force upon the King, in order to oblige him to yield to our Demands, be Treason; the conspiring to put such a Force upon him, is Treason; and has ever been so construed, both before and since the Revolution; and particularly in the Trials of Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, &c. a Conspiracy to levy War, or raise Forces against the King, was adjudged an Overt-Act of Conspiring the King's Death: Nay, the very Imagination is Treason, if it can be made appear; much more, when there have been frequent Consultations how to effect it, though no particular Time

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

A.D. 1683. Time and Place have been agreed on. Could Doctor *Burnet* really believe, that, where People met, consulted, and resolved to make an Insurrection, and fall upon the King, the first Time they had an Opportunity, though they did not agree upon Time and Place, this would excuse them from the Guilt of Treason? He had better speak out, and resort to his old Maxim, That when our Liberties are invaded, we may lawfully resist, and compel the King to restore them; and then it must be admitted, there could be no Treason, either in the Design or in the Execution: And in this Light his Friends may indeed be looked upon rather as Patriots than Traytors. Their Consultations were only in Behalf of Liberty and Property, and to rescue their Country from Tyranny and Oppression: But then, how could these Consultations be deem'd dangerous, as the Bishop acknowledges? All the Danger according to him, seems to be, that they should not succeed.

*Monmouth*  
relapses  
a second  
Time.

But to return to the Duke of *Monmouth*. Some of his Friends having flattered his Ambition again, with Hopes of succeeding to the Crown, and setting aside his Uncle, the Duke of *York*; while others upbraided him with Meanness of Spirit and Ingratitude to those who had run such Hazards to serve him, (by signing a Paper which might be brought in Evidence against them:) He came to the King, the 6th of *December*; and importunately demanded the Paper he had signed, might be returned. To which the King answered, He would not keep it against his Will; that he might have no Pretence to say, he was forced to write what he did; but bid him consider the Consequences of his obstinate Perse-

Perse

Perseverance in that Demand; and gave him till the next Morning to deliberate on the Matter. However, he came the next Day, and insisting still, that his Majesty should return it, the King gave him the Paper, but at the same Time banished him the Court; (being the very Day Colonel *Sidney* was executed;) and soon after the Duke of *Monmouth* embarked for *Holland*.

A.D. 1683.

35 Car. II.

He goes to Holland.

There was little happened abroad this Year worth our Attention, unless the memorable Siege of *Vienna*, the Capital of the Empire; before which the *Turks* sat down with an hundred and fifty thousand Men, about the middle of *July*; and having battered and attacked the Place with incredible Fury, for near two Months, were, on the 12th of *September*, forced to raise the Siege, by the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, General of the *Imperialists*: And the *Turks* received the greatest Defeat from the *Christians*, that is mentioned in History; it being computed, there were not less than seventy Thousand of the *Infidels* killed in the Siege, and in the Battle. Several *English* Volunteers signalized themselves in the Defence of *Vienna*; and among them, the Lord *Lansdown*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Bath*; in consideration of whose Merit, the Emperor created him a Count of the *Roman* Empire.

The Siege of Vienna.

A Victory over the Turks.

Lord Lansdown made a Count of the Empire.

This Winter was remarkable for one of the longest and hardest Frosts that has happened in *England*: It set in the Beginning of *December*, and continued till the fifth of *February*. A Fair was kept on the *Thames*, and Oxen Roasted on the Ice; and the Coaches ran from the *Temple* to *Westminster* in *Hillary-Term*,

The great Frost.



*A.D.* 1683<sup>4</sup>. *Term*, on the River, as frequently as in the Streets.

36 *Car.* II.

Some Pro-  
motions.

On New-Years Day, this Year, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, lately married to the Princess *Anne*, was elected a Knight-Companion of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*; as were the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Northumberland* ten Days after: And about the same Time, *Charles Beauclair* Earl of *Burford*, the King's natural Son, by Mrs. *Gwyn*, was created Duke of *St. Albans*.

Some of  
the Con-  
spirators  
discharged.

On the 23d of the same Month, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, Mr. *Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Charlton*, and Major *Wildman*, who had been committed, on suspicion of their being Accomplices in the *Rye-house* Plot, and admitted to Bail, were absolutely discharged: And Mr. *Hampden*, another of them, had the Favour, to be indicted only for a Misdemeanour; being brought to his Trial, at the King's-Bench Barr, the 6th of *February*.

Mr. *Hampden* tried  
for a Mis-  
demeanor.

Lord *How-  
ard's* Evi-  
dence a-  
gainst him.

The Lord *Howard*, being produced as a Witness against the Prisoner, gave much the same Evidence, as he had done at the Trials of the Lord *Russel*, and Colonel *Sidney*: That they had formed a Council of Six, of which Mr. *Hampden* was one: That they met the first Time at the Prisoner Mr. *Hampden's* House, the middle of *January*, 1682-3: That Mr. *Hampden* began the Discourse, and desired they would consult how to put Things in a better Posture: And that they then debated of the Time when, and the Place where the Insurrection should begin: But the principal Point resolved on, was the settling a Correspondence with *Argyle*, and other leading Men in *Scotland*. That they had a second Meeting at the Lord *Russel's* House.

House, a Fortnight afterwards ; when it was agreed to send *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to desire the Malecontents there, to send up some of the Party to *London*, that they might concert Measures with them ; and Sir *John Cochrane* the Lord *Melvil*, and *Campbel*, with another, were named as proper Persons ; and were to come up, under pretence of making a Purchase in *Carolina*. Other Witnesses deposed, That *Aaron Smith* actually went to *Scotland* accordingly ; and that Sir *John Cochrane*, the two *Campbells*, and *Monroe*, came up to *London*, under the Pretence of settling a Plantation at *Carolina*.

A.D. 1683.

36 Car. II.

Mr. *Williams*, who was assigned Council for Mr. *Hampden*, objected, That the Lord *Howard* being in a Conspiracy against the Government, gave Evidence against his Client, to save his own Life : That the Lord *Howard* was not positive as to the Day the Consult was at Mr. *Hampden's* ; which made it impossible to prove his Client was in another Place : That if the Conspiracy had been of long standing, there would have been some Appearance of it sooner : That the Lord *Howard* was a Man of no Principles, and had solemnly sworn, *He knew nothing of a Plot, &c.*

*Hampden's*  
Defence by  
his  
Council.

To which it was replied, That the Lord *Howard* had positively sworn the Matter of Fact, charged in the Indictment ; which had been confirmed by Evidence of *Smith's* going to *Scotland*, and the *Scotch* Agent's coming up to *London*, under the pretence of settling a Plantation in *Carolina* : And the Jury being withdrawn about half an Hour, returned, and brought the Prisoner in *Guilty*. Whereupon the Court sentenced him to pay a Fine of forty thousand Pounds ; to stand committed till it was paid ; and to find Sureties for

*Hampden*  
fined  
40,000 l.

*A.D.* 1683. his good Behaviour during Life. The last Trial I shall take notice of, in Relation to this *Presbyterian* or *Rye-House* Plot, is that of *Robert Baillie* of *Ferviswood* in *Scotland*.

36 *Car.* II.

The Trial of *Baillie*, the *Scot*, proves the *English* Conspirators guilty.

At this Trial, *William Carstairs* deposed, That he the Deponent went over to *Holland* to the Earl of *Argyle*, to consult him about the Insurrection in *Scotland* : And that the Earl was of Opinion, that nothing could be done there, unless thirty thousand Pounds were raised, and a thousand Horse and Dragoons; with which the Deponent acquainted the Lord *Russel*, on his Return to *England* : And the Lord *Russel* thereupon, said, that they could not get so much raised in the Time proposed ; but if they had ten thousand Pounds, that would draw People in ; and when they were once in, they would soon be brought to more : But as for the thousand Horse and Dragoons, he could say nothing at present, that must be concerted on the Borders : That the Deponent also consulted with Doctor *Owen*, Mr. *Griffin*, Mr. *Mead*, and other Dissenting Preachers about the intended Insurrection, when he was in *London*.

That *Baillie* the Prisoner, told the Deponent, that he also had talked with the Lord *Russel* and others, about raising the said Sum of 30,000 *l.* but found it was impossible to get that Sum; however, that they were certainly promised 10,000 *l.* which the Deponent was to receive and remit to *Holland*, for buying of Arms : That both Sir *John Cochrane* and the Prisoner lamented the Delays that were made, in paying the Money ; and said, they feared it would be too little, if it was paid in : Which Evidence is such a Confirmation of the Guilt of the *English* Conspirators, as leaves no Room to doubt the Truth of the Plot.



Plot. The Jury that tried *Baillie*, consisted of two Noblemen, and thirteen Gentlemen of Quality, who unanimously found him *Guilt* of this Treason, though a Majority had been sufficient to convict him by the Laws of that Kingdom; and he was condemned and executed at *Edinburgh*.

A.D. 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
36 Car. II.

On the seventh of *February*, two Days after Mr. *Hampden's* Trial, *Lawrence Braddon* and *Speke* and *Hugh Speke* Gents. were tried for a Misdemeanour, in the Court of King's Bench, in conspiring to make the People believe, that the Earl of *Essex* was murdered in the *Tower*, by those who had the Custody of him; and for endeavouring to suborn false Witnesses to prove it: Whereupon, *Braddon*, who was found guilty of the whole Charge, was sentenced to pay a Fine of two thousand Pounds; and *Speke*, who was acquitted of the Information, one thousand Pounds; and to give Security for their good Behaviour for Life.

About the same Time, *Samuel Johnson* Clerk, was convicted of writing and publishing that scandalous and seditious Libel, entitled, *Julian the Apostate*; for which he was condemned to pay a Fine of five hundred Marks, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year, and that his Book should be burnt by the common Hangman. *John Darby* a Printer, also was convicted of Printing the Lord *Russel's* Speech, which the Government held to be a Libel; but upon begging Pardon for his Offence, he was fined only twenty Marks.

On the other Hand, the Earl of *Danby*, who had remained several Years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, and often in vain moved to be pardoned, was brought to the King's Bench Bar, and committed to Bail.



*A.D.* 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ . on the 12th of *February*, and admitted to Bail, on entring into a Recognizance himself in ten thousand Pounds, and his Bail five thousand Pounds a piece, for his Appearance in the House of Lords, the next Session of Parliament. The Popish Lords were also admitted to Bail on the same Day, *viz.* The Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and the Earl of *Tyrone*; but the Lord *Peters* died in the *Tower*, about a Month before, having written a Letter to his Majesty, while he lay on his Death-Bed, wherein he takes it upon his Salvation, that he was innocent of the Plot, with which he was charged.

*Bernardiston* fined for affirming the Plot was a Sham.

Two Days after, *viz.* on the 14th of *February*, Sir *Samuel Bernardiston* was tried, and convicted of a Misdemeanour in defaming and scandalizing the Government by several Letters and Libels; wherein he affirmed, that the Plot, of which the Lord *Russel*, *Sidney*, &c. were convicted, was a Sham; for which he was condemned to pay a Fine of ten thousand Pounds, and to give Securities for his good Behaviour during Life.

While *England* remained in Peace, the *French* were still carrying on their Conquests in *Spanish Flanders*, with the greatest Security; being sensible, that *England* could not at this Time interpose to save that Country; the Parliament having so frequently refused to grant the King any Supplies for that Purpose, though pressed to it by his Majesty with the greatest Earnestness. But the *French* having the Assurance to fall upon some *Spanish* Ships in the *Downs*, which the King looked upon as an Insult on himself, he issued a Proclamation for the preserving

A Proclamation for preserving the Neutrality of the Ports.

an

an exact Neutrality in all the Ports and Roads *A.D. 1684.*  
on the Coast of *England* ; giving Orders to  
his Men of War to attack the Aggressors. *36 Car. II.*

The same Reason that obliged the King of *England* to stand Neuter, and see the *Spanish Flanders* over-run by the *French*, compelled him to abandon *Tangier*, that commodious Port, on the *African* Coast, near the *Streights* Mouth; on the Fortifications and Mole whereof he had expended immense Sums. The Garrison and the Works were so great an annual Expence, that he could no longer bear it : And the Parliament would grant nothing for maintaining it, though it was acknowledged to be of vast Advantage to our *Levant-Trade*. Whereupon the King sent the Lord *Dartmouth* thither with twenty Men of War, in *September* 1683, to demolish the Town, Castle, Mole, and other Works, and bring away the Garrison and Ordnance: All which the Lord *Dartmouth* performed, and returned to *England*, the 2d of *April*, 1684 : And 'tis said, that when he had taken all the Inhabitants and their Effects on Board, great Numbers of the *Moors* were blown up by the Mines he had prepared to demolish some of the Works : For foreseeing the Infidels would croud into the Place, as soon as his People were embarked, he ordered Matches and Trains of Powder to be laid on purpose to destroy them. But I hope this last Part of the Relation is not true ; for though the *Moors* were our Enemies, and actually besieging the Place ; yet as the *English* never designed to return thither again, and could propose no one good End by destroying so many Men's Lives, such an Action seems to border upon Inhumanity ; and could  
give

The King  
forced to  
abandon  
*Tangier*, for  
Want of a  
Supply.

A.D. 1684. give the Infidels no very advantageous Idea of the *Christians*.

36 Car. II.

*Holloway*,  
a Conspi-  
rator out-  
lawed, and  
executed.

But to return home : *Holloway*, one of the Conspirators in the *Rye-House* Plot, having fled to the *West-Indies*, was again apprehended there, and sent to *England*. He had been out-lawed for High-Treason during his Absence. However, when he was brought before the Court of King's-Bench, he was told, that he might have a Trial, and endeavour to make his Defence : But he answered, he could not defend himself ; he had confessed great Part of the Indictment before his Majesty, and threw himself on the King's Mercy : But there appearing little in his Confession, but what was already publicly known, unless it were a Design to have surprized *Bristol* ; and the Prisoner being concerned in that Part of the Plot relating to the Assassination, a Rule was made for his Execution on the 21st of *April*, when he acknowledged the Reality of the Plot ; and that he had a Share in it, but seemed to excuse himself on account of the Male-Administration of the Government.

Some  
Booksellers  
fined, for  
publishing  
seditious  
Libels a-  
gainst the  
Govern-  
ment.

*Langley Curtis* was about the same Time convicted of Printing and Publishing a seditious Libel, called, *The Lord Russel's Ghost, or the Night-Walker of Bloomsbury* ; for which he was fined five hundred Pounds, and set in the Pillory. *George Cawdron*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was also convicted of uttering seditious Words ; for which he was fined 500 *l.* and set in the Pillory. *Francis Smith*, a Bookseller, also was convicted of publishing a seditious Libel, called the *Raree Show*, containing most scandalous Reflections on the King and Duke, and the whole Administration ;



ministration; for which he was fined 500 *l.* *A.D. 1684.*  
and set in the Pillory.

36 *Car. II.*

*Dutton Colt*, for Words against the Duke of York, to pay 10,000 *l.* Damages.

The Duke of York having brought an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against *John Dutton Colt Esq;* for scandalous Words, the last Michaelmas-Term, the Trial came on the 1st of May; when it was proved, that the Defendant had uttered the following Words, viz. *The Duke of York is a Papist; and before any such Papist Dog shall be Successor to the Crown of England, I'll be hanged at my own Door. If any of the Members of Parliament come to an untimely End, it shall be laid on the Papists; and from that Time I will begin to cut the Throat of the first Papist I meet, if it be the Duke of York himself. If the King follows the Advice of that Popish Dog his Brother, and such evil Counsellors, in so often dissolving the Parliament, [it will be worse for him. He is a damned Rascal, &c.* with a great deal more of the like genteel Language; for which the Jury gave the Duke ten thousand Pounds Damages.

*Titus Oates* 100,000 *l.* for the like Offence.

The Duke also obtained a Verdict against *Titus Oates*, for calling him *Traytor*; and saying, his Highness was a *Son of a Whore, and a Rascal, and he hoped to see him hanged*: For which 100,000 *l.* Damages was given by the Jury, on a Writ of Enquiry; and *Oates* remained a Prisoner in the *King's-Bench* some Years, it being impossible he should raise any such Sum.

Execution awarded against *Armstrong* on an Out-lawry.

And now *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, one of the Conspirators, having been apprehended in *Holland* by Order of the States, and sent over to *England*, was brought to the *King's-Bench Bar*, the 14th of *June*: And the Court demanding what he could say, why Execution should not be awarded against him, as he stood out-lawed



*A.D.* 1684. out-lawed for High-Treason? He answered, that by a Statute made in the 6th Year of *Edward VI.*, a Person outlawed had a Year's Time to reverse his Outlawry, if he happened to be beyond Sea: But the Court informed him, that by the very Words of that Statute, none could have the Benefit of it, but those who yielded themselves *voluntarily* to the Chief-Justice within the Year; whereas, he was apprehended, and brought thither against his Will.

One of the  
most noto-  
rious  
Traytors.

The Attorney-General also acquainted the Court, That the Prisoner at the Bar, deserved no Sort of Indulgence; not only, for that when he was seized beyond Sea, Letters of fresh Communication with foreign Princes, and other People, were taken upon him; but also, because it appeared to his Majesty on full Evidence, That after the Disappointment of the Assassination at the *Rye-House*, by the Fire at *Newmarket*, *Armstrong* was one of the Persons, that actually engaged to go, upon the King's hasty coming to Town, and to destroy him on the Road. It may be added, That no Man had more personal Obligations to his Majesty; and that none had made more ungrateful Returns, by perverting his Subjects from their Allegiance; particularly, one that was very dear to his Majesty, the Duke of *Monmouth*. Upon all these Considerations, it was determined, to shew him no Favour, and he was executed in Pursuance of a Rule of the Court of King's-Bench on the 20th of *June*; his Head being set up on *Westminster-Hall*, between *Cromwell's* and *Bradshaw's*, and his Quarters on the City-Gates.

There

There were some Alterations in the Ministry this Summer, which must not be omitted; particularly the Advancement of *Sidney Godolphin* Esq; to the Post of Secretary of State, the 14th of *April*, on the Resignation of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*; and the Care of the Admiralty, which had been for some time in Commission, was now conferred on the Duke of *York* again, who also took his Place at the Council-Board about the Middle of *May*; the Earl of *Rochester* was made President of the Council, on the Resignation of the Earl of *Radnor*; and Mr. *Godolphin* being made First Commissioner of the Treasury the 25th of *August*, was succeeded in his Post of Secretary of State by the Earl of *Middleton*; and Mr. *Godolphin* was created Baron *Godolphin* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwall*, on the eighth of *September*.

A.D. 1684.

36 Car. II.

*Godolphin*  
Secretary  
of State.  
Duke of  
*York* Ad-  
miral.

*Rochester*  
President  
of the  
Council.

*Godolphin*  
made Bar-  
on, and  
First Com-  
missioner  
of the  
Treasury.

But the Alterations the Constitution was in danger of receiving this Year, from the Seizure or Surrender of the Charters of the several Corporations, were of much greater Consequence than any Changes that could be made in the Ministry: The City of *Wells* had surrendered their Charter, and received a new one, before that of *London* was adjudged to be forfeited; and this Year no less than twenty five Corporations in *Cornwall*, and six in the County of *Devon*, with a great many other in several Parts of the Kingdom, surrendered their Charters, and accepted new ones, under such Limitations as the Court was pleased to prescribe; the principal whereof was, That their Magistrates should be confirmed or approved by the King, if he required it: By which Means his Majesty had it in his Power to prevent his Enemies being chosen Officers

Charters  
surrender-  
ed.

The Rea-  
son of al-  
tering the  
Charters;

A.D. 1684 in Corporations, and influencing Elections: For the Corporation-Act, that excluded all Persons from being Magistrates of Corporations who were not conformable to the Church, was now entirely evaded, scarce any of the Dissenters scrupling to conform occasionally, and commit Idolatry, as they called it, at the Communion-Table, to qualify themselves for Offices; by which Means the House of Commons became replenished with Members of Presbyterian or Republican Principles, who had for some time insisted, That the King ought to be governed by them; suggesting, He was no more than their Officer; That *England* was in Fact a Republick; and that the Government of the Church ought to be formed upon the Presbyterian or *Geneva* Model: That these were the Principles and Designs of the leading Whigs, the Body of the Nation were fully convinced; and therefore did not oppose the Steps King *Charles* took at this Juncture, to secure himself, and advance his Prerogative, believing the Nation to be in less Danger from an Encrease of the King's Power, than from the Prevalency of a Republican Faction, which had in the last Reign subverted the Constitution both in Church and State, and in this Reign missed but very narrowly of effecting the same again: The People indeed would very gladly have seen their ancient Constitution preserved without any Alteration or Encroachments on either hand; but it seemed necessary at this time that the Court should take some extraordinary Steps to preserve the Monarchy from being converted into a Republick. Had the King sat still, and trusted only to Measures strictly legal, when the Malecontents were attempting, by open Tumults,

and the  
Nation's  
acquiescing  
in it.

A.D. 1684.

36 Car. II.



mults, and secret Conspiracies, to dethrone him, as they had done his Father, he would probably have undergone his Father's Fate. This was the old Artifice; To raise Mobs, to enter into Conspiracies, to confederate themselves with the Malecontents in *Scotland*, and to declare at the same time that the King ought to take no Measures for his Defence but what were strictly legal: And King *Charles I.* too long acted as if he believed he ought not; which was certainly the Occasion of his Ruin, and for which his Enemies laugh at him to this Day, and have their Calves-Head Clubs on the Anniversary of his Murder, in Derision of his Politicks.

In short; King *Charles II.* saw he had but one of these two Methods to take, to keep the Crown upon his Head, and defend himself against both domestick and foreign Enemies; namely, by new modelling the Corporations in the manner he did, or by keeping up a Standing Army: If he had raised a great Army, this would have been no less dangerous to the Constitution than the altering the Charters of the several Corporations; and yet without such an Army it is not easy to conceive how he should defend himself against the Tumults and Riots in the City of *London*, and other Parts of *England*, while the Mob was animated and encouraged by Republican Magistrates. Such an Influence had the Faction, we see, in the three preceding Parliaments, that they would give the King no Money, either for the Assistance of his Allies in the Defence of *Flanders*, or for the Defence of *Tangier*; and much less to enable him to suppress any domestick Insurrections; nay, they voted that no Man should lend him

King *Charles II.* had no way to preserve himself, but by raising an Army, or seizing the Charters.



*A.D.* 1684. Money for the necessary Support of the Government, or of his own Household; and were evidently spiriting up the People into a Rebellion against him. In these Circumstances all the Forces he had on Foot did not amount to five thousand Men; and against these mighty Outcries were made, as if the People's Liberties were in danger of being destroyed by that Handful of Troops: Whereas the same Party have thought their Liberties very safe since, under other Princes whose Standing Armies have been four times that Number. And I wish future Kings may not think still greater Numbers necessary to secure them against the Tumults that may be raised in the City of *London* alone; a Town now of such monstrous Dimensions, that, to speak within Compass, it can raise fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and arm them, at a very short Warning. And here, methinks, we have but too much Reason to censure the Policy of our Ancestors, in suffering this Metropolis to arrive at such a Magnitude, as to make it necessary to keep up an Army to support the Government against their Mobs; which may at length prove fatal to our Liberties: Nor can I think of any better Way to avoid this, than by disciplining our Militia, or Part of them, in such a manner as to make them equal to Regular Troops, as is done in *Sweden*: After which, the keeping up a Standing Army will be perfectly needless. But to return from this Digression, and sum up all I have said on the King's seizing the Charters: It was such a Stretch of Power, as no *Englishman* could ever have approved of, if the Kingdom had been in a State of Peace, and the King could have supported himself on his Throne without

it:

A Digression, shewing how dangerous the vast Encrease of the City of *London* may prove to the Constitution.

It: But as he found a powerful Faction constantly endeavouring to dethrone him, and a Conspiracy actually on foot for that End; the Whigs may look upon themselves as the Authors of those Measures they compelled the King to take for his own Preservation:

A.D. 1684

36 Car. II.

The Whigs were the Occasion of the Charters being seized.

But to proceed: This Year the *Hamborough* Company, to testify their Loyalty and Affection for his Majesty, erected his Statue in the Middle of the Area of the *Royal Exchange*, causing the following Inscription to be engraven on the Pedestal; viz.

CAROLO II. Cæsari Britannico, Patriæ Patri, Regum optimo, clementissimo, augustissimo, generis humani Deliciis, utriusque fortunæ Victori, pacis Europæ Arbitro, maris Domino & Vindici, Societatis Mercatorum Adventur. Angliæ, quæ per 400 jam prope annos Regia Benignitate floret, Fidei intemeratæ, Gratitude æternæ, hoc Testimonium venerabunda posuit, Anno Salutis humanæ 1684.

A Statue of King Charles II.

And now Sir *William Pritchard*, late Lord Mayor of *London*, in order to recover Satisfaction for the Insults he suffered in the Days of Whiggism, brought his Action against Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, for maliciously causing him to be arrested during his Mayoralty: And the Cause being tried in *Michaelmas* Term, this Year, at *Guildhall*, the Jury gave Sir *William* Ten thousand Pounds Damages. There were about the same time some Persons convicted of seditious Words and Libels against the Government, and fined; but the Trial that made most Noise was that of *Thomas Rosewell*, a dissenting Teacher, for treasonable Words uttered in his Sermon on the 14th of September: Some of which were these; viz.

*Pritchard* recovers 10 000 l. Damages against *Papillon* and *Dubois*.

*Rosewell's* Trial for treasonable Words in his Sermon

We have had two wicked Kings together,  
“ who

A.D. 1684

36 Car. II.



“ who have permitted Popery to enter in  
 “ under their Noses; whom we can resemble  
 “ to no other Person but the most wicked  
 “ *Jeroboam*: But if they would stand to their  
 “ Principles, he did not fear but they should  
 “ overcome their Enemies, as in former  
 “ Times with Rams-horns, broken Platters  
 “ and a Stone in a Sling.” Of which the  
 Prisoner was convicted; but the King was  
 pleased to pardon him.

Sir *Scroop*  
*How* par-  
 doned on  
 his Sub-  
 mission:

Sir *Scroop How*, one of the late Knights of  
 the Shire for the County of *Nottingham*, after  
 pleading guilty, to an Indictment preferred  
 against him for scandalous Words spoken  
 of his Majesty and the Duke of *York*, upon  
 his confessing the Offence, and throwing him-  
 self upon his Majesty's Mercy, was pardoned,  
 and the next Day being introduced to the  
 King, he acknowledged that he owed his  
 Life and Estate to his Majesty's Goodness,  
 and that he would for the future dedicate  
 both to the Service of his Majesty and the  
 Royal Family.

The King  
 and the  
 Nation in  
 perfect  
 Tranquil-  
 lity.

The King now reigning in perfect Peace,  
 and in the Affections of his Subjects, his Re-  
 venues encreasing, and his Debts in a fair  
 way of being paid off, proposed the founding  
 and endowing an Hospital for the Relief of  
 the indigent Cavaliers: And thereupon sent  
 his Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,  
 wherein he says, “ He observed with great  
 “ Grief, that many of his loyal Subjects, who  
 “ had taken up Arms in behalf of himself  
 “ and his Father, in order to resist that Tor-  
 “ rent of Rebellion, which at last overturn-  
 “ ed the Monarchy and the Church, were,  
 “ by old Age, Wounds, or other Accidents,  
 “ reduced to extreme Poverty: He had re-

*Chelsea*  
 College  
 proposed  
 to be an  
 Hospital  
 for old  
 Soldiers.

“ solved

solved to found and erect at *Chelsea* a perpetual Hospital, in which more than four hundred aged and disabled Soldiers might be lodged and supplied with the Necessaries of Life: And therefore desired the Archbishop to send his Circular Letters to all the Bishops of his Province, earnestly exciting them to deal effectually with all in their Dioceses to contribute liberally to so good a Design." But this his Majesty did not live to see effected.

A.D. 1684.

37 Car. II.

His Majesty about the same time published a Declaration, testifying his Satisfaction in the Loyalty and Affection of his Subjects; where- in he observes, That though some had swerved from their Duty, far the greater and better Part of them had stood by him in his severest Trials; particularly the main Body of the Nobility and Gentry, the whole sound and honest Part of the Commonalty, the great Fountains of Knowledge and Civility, the two Universities, the wisest and most learned in the Laws, the whole Clergy, and all the genuine Sons of the Church of *England*: He also expressed his entire Satisfaction in the Readiness the Corporations had shewn to surrender their Charters into his Hands; and said, he thought himself more than ordinarily obliged to continue as he had begun, to shew the greatest Moderation and Benignity, in the Exercise of so great a Trust; resolving, upon this Occasion, to convince the highest Pretenders to the Common Weal, That as the Crown was the *Original*, so it was still the surest Guardian of the People's Rights and Privileges.

His Majesty's Declaration. of the Loyalty of his Subjects.

But when a general Tranquillity reigned in the Nation, and the King and People thought them-

The King's last Illness.



A.D. 1684<sup>4</sup> themselves happy in each other, a dangerous  
 37<sup>1</sup> Car. II. Illness seized his Majesty, and threw the  
 Kingdom again into the utmost Consternation: He was surprized with a Fit of an Apoplexy on *Monday* the second of *February*, and his Recovery looked upon as desperate; and though upon Bleeding he was brought to his Senses again, yet having another Fit four Days after, it carried him off, to the unspeakable Grief of his Subjects.

While the King lay on his Death-Bed, he was attended three whole Days and Nights by Bishop *Kenn*, who was more in his Favour, 'tis said, than any other Prelate. The good Man took all Opportunities in that Interval to fit and prepare the King for his approaching Dissolution; and when the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth*, the favourite Mistress, came into the Room, prevailed on his Majesty to command her Absence, and to send for the Queen, and ask her Pardon for the Violation of her Bed; which was accordingly done; and the Bishop apprehending his Majesty to be sincerely penitent, proposed his receiving the Blessed Sacrament; which the Duke of *York* being apprized of, and finding the King not likely to live many Hours, that the *Roman-Catholicks* might have the Honour of his dying in their Communion, brought in Father *Huddleston*, a *Benedictine* Monk, when his Majesty

The Popish Sacraments administered to him. was scarce sensible, and the three Popish Sacraments of *Penance*, *Extreme Unction*, and the *Eucharist*, were administered; none daring to oppose a Prince who was so suddenly expected to mount the Throne, and become their Sovereign: And his Majesty expired the next Day, being the sixth of *February*, 1684<sup>4</sup>, in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and the thirty seventh

He dies.

seventh of his Reign, if we reckon from the Death of the King; twenty four Years, and something above eight Months, after his Restoration.

It is suggested by some, but without any Shadow of Proof that ever I could meet with, That if the King had lived a little longer, he would have sent away the Duke of *York* again, discarded all Papists, and those who had the Reputation of being popishly affected; have recalled the Duke of *Monmouth*, and thrown himself into the Hands of the Whigs: Which the same Set of Writers seem to confute, by suggesting, That King *Charles* died very opportunely for *England*; for if he had lived a little longer, they tell us, he would probably have established Popery and Arbitrary Power: So consistent are some Men with themselves! The Person and Character of this Prince are admirably described by Dr. *Charlton* and Sir *William Temple*; who both personally conversed with him, and are far from being partial to his Errors.

Dr. *Charlton* observes, That "his Majesty at the Restoration was just thirty Years of Age; somewhat taller than the middle Stature of *Englishmen*; so exactly formed, that the most curious Eye could find no Error in his Shape; his Countenance was rather grave than severe, but much softened whenever he spoke; his Complexion somewhat dark, but highly enlightened by his quick and sparkling Eyes; the Figure of his Face was very lovely till near twenty years of Age; but after that growing leaner, the Majesty of his Looks happily supplied the Lines of Beauty, which was very much set off by plentiful Ornaments of

Various Reports of the King's Intentions.

His Person and Character, by Dr. *Charlton*.

Vol. XXIII. E e " shining

“ shining black Hair: His Motions were so  
 “ easy and graceful, that they highly recom-  
 “ mended his Person to all Strangers, whether  
 “ he walked, or danced, or played at Ten-  
 “ nis, or rode the Great Horse, which were  
 “ his usual Exercises: In sum, his Mien fully  
 “ denoted his Quality; and wheresoever he  
 “ appeared, he immediately obtained the  
 “ Respect and Affections of all that approach-  
 “ ed him; for all his Looks and Actions help-  
 “ ed to display the Beauties of his Mind; a  
 “ vivacious Wit, a delicate Apprehension,  
 “ and an excellent Understanding: These  
 “ natural Endowments were highly improved,  
 “ not only by his own uncommon Industry,  
 “ but by a numerous Train of Accidents,  
 “ usually unknown to other Princes: So that,  
 “ besides his great Skill in Modern Langua-  
 “ ges, History, Mathematicks, Navigation,  
 “ &c. his Mind was adorned with such Vir-  
 “ tues as might, if continued, have proved  
 “ a perpetual Source of Happiness to himself  
 “ Kingdom; as Justice, Fortitude, Clemency,  
 “ Temperance, and Sobriety: The two last  
 “ were conspicuous at this time: Oaths and  
 “ Drunkenness were Strangers to him; and  
 “ though he cannot be cleared of another  
 “ Vice, of which the Duke of *Monmouth's*  
 “ Mother was not the only Instance, yet the  
 “ former Part of his Life ought by no means  
 “ to be compared to the latter: And it is  
 “ observed by a good Hand, That for many  
 “ Years before his Return he had been so  
 “ chaste, or cautious, that those about him  
 “ could hear no Whisper of any indecent Gal-  
 “ lantry. In general; He had learnt so much  
 “ Experience from the Variety of his Father's  
 “ Fortunes, from the Opposition of his Ene-  
 “ mies,



“mies, the Treachery of his seeming Friends,  
 “and the frequent Necessity of treating with  
 “all Parties in Person, that it might justly be  
 “said of him as it was of his Grandfather of  
 “France, *He that would corrupt his Council,*  
 “*must first begin with the King.*

Sir William Temple, in the Character of this  
 Prince, observes, “His Majesty took more  
 “Pains to enjoy a quiet and undisturbed  
 “Life, than some have done to ruin the  
 “Peace of whole Kingdoms; which made  
 “him too liable to be led by such as pre-  
 “tended to the peculiar Art of Relieving:  
 “From his own natural Disposition, he de-  
 “sired nothing but to be easy himself, and  
 “that every body else should be so; and  
 “would have been glad to see the least of his  
 “Subjects pleased, and to refuse no Man  
 “what he asked. But this Softness of Tem-  
 “per made him apt to fall into the Persua-  
 “sions of whoever had his Kindness and  
 “Confidence for the Time, how different  
 “soever from the Opinions he was of before;  
 “and he was very easy to change Hands, when  
 “those he employed had engaged him in any  
 “Difficulties; so as nothing looked steady in  
 “the Conduct of his Affairs, nor appeared  
 “to aim at any certain End. Yet sure no  
 “Prince had more Qualities to make him  
 “loved, with a great many to make him  
 “esteemed, and all without a Grain of Pride  
 “or Vanity in his whole Constitution; nor  
 “could he suffer Flattery in any kind, grow-  
 “ing uneasy upon the first Approaches of it,  
 “and diverting it to some other Subject: A  
 “Thing remarkable in Princes! Where he  
 “was pleased to be familiar, he shewed great  
 “Quickness of Conception, Pleasantness of

His Cha-  
 racter by  
 Sir William  
 Temple.



“ Wit, with Variety of Knowledge, and  
 “ more Observation, and a truer Judgment  
 “ of Men, than could be imagined, from so  
 “ careless and easy a Manner as was natural  
 “ to him in all he said or did. But having  
 “ abandoned himself to Pleasures, this Hu-  
 “ mour made him lose many great Opportu-  
 “ nities of Glory to himself, and Greatness to  
 “ his Crown:

His Cha-  
 racter by  
 Lord *Mul-*  
*grave.*

The Lord *Mulgrave* (afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*) who lived in the Court of King *Charles II.* many Years, confidently affirms, That his Religion was Deism; consequently, if all that are not Papists are to be denominated Protestants, the King must be of the Number of the latter.

This Lord adds, That the King owed this uncommon Opinion (Deism) more to the Liveliness of his Parts, and Carelessness of his Temper, than either to Reading or Consideration: For his Quickness of Apprehension at first View could discern through the several Cheats of pious Pretences; and his natural Laziness confirmed him in an equal Mistrust of them all, for fear he should be troubled with examining which Religion was best.

That no Prince ever delighted more in the Improvement of his Navy and Maritime Affairs; which seemed so much his Talent, both as to his Skill and Inclination, that a War of that kind was rather an Entertainment than any Disturbance to his Thoughts: Consequently, no Person was ever better fitted for his Country's Interest, if he had been as careful in depressing all such Improvements in *France*, as of advancing and encouraging our own. As to his spending so much of his Time with the Ladies, the same Noble Writer was  
 of

of Opinion, There was as much of Laziness as Love in all those Hours he passed among his Mistresses, in the latter Part of his Life; That they served only to fill up his Seraglio, while a bewitching kind of Pleasure, called Sauntering and Talking without Restraint, was the true Sultana he delighted in.

That his Understanding was quick and lively in little Things, and sometimes would soar high enough in great ones; but he was unable to keep it up with any long Attention or Application: Witty in all sorts of Conversation; and telling a Story so well, that, not out of Flattery, but for the Pleasure of hearing it, they seemed ignorant of what he had repeated ten times before; as a good Comedy will bear the being seen often.

Not false to his Word, but full of Dissimulation, and very adroit at it; yet no Man easier to be imposed on: Familiar, easy, and good-natured; but for great Offences severe and inflexible; and in one Week's Absence quite forgetting those Servants to whose Faces he could hardly deny any thing.

In the midst of all his Remissness, so industrious and indefatigable on some particular Occasions, that no Man would toil longer, or be able to manage better. He was so liberal, as to ruin his Affairs; which forced him to depend on his great Neighbour of *France*; who took Advantage of his Wants: Yet his Profuseness did not so much proceed from his overvaluing those he favoured, as his undervaluing any Sums he did not see; though he found his Error at last. He had so natural an Aversion to all Formality, that, with as much Wit as most Kings ever had, and with as majestic a Mien, yet he could not on Premeditation

tation act the Part of a King for a Moment either at Parliament or Council, either in Words or Gesture; but let all Distinction and Ceremony fall to the Ground, as useless and foppish.

His Temper of Body and Mind was admirable; which made him an easy and generous Lover, a civil obliging Husband, a friendly Brother, an indulgent Father, and a good natured Master. If he had been as solicitous about improving the Faculties of his Mind as he was in the Management of his bodily Health, though the latter proved unable to make his Life long, the former had not failed to have made it famous.

He was an illustrious Exception to all the Rules of Physiognomy; for with a most *Saturnine*, harsh Countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful Disposition; and if his Death was by some suspected of being untimely, it might be imputed to his extremely healthful Constitution, which made the World as much surprized at his dying before three score, as if nothing but an ill Accident could have killed him; though he observes, That the most knowing and most deserving of all his Physicians did not only believe him poisoned but thought himself so too, for having declared his Opinion a little too boldly; however, he looked upon it as an unusual Piece of Justice, which all the World agreed in. That his Successor was not suspected of the least Connivance in so horrid a Villany.

His Marriage.

King *Charles II.* was married in *May, 1662*, two Years after his Restoration, to the Princess *Katherine*, Infanta of *Portugal*; by whom he had no Issue.

His

His natural Issue were, *James Duke of Monmouth*, his eldest Son, by *Mrs. Lucy Walters*, Daughter of *Richard Walters* of *Haverford-West* in the County of *Pembroke*, Esq; born at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, Anno 1649, and bore the Surname of *Crofts* till his Marriage with the Lady *Anne Scot*, which Surname the King then gave him: His Dutcheſs was the sole Daughter and Heir of *Francis Earl of Bucclugh* in *Scotland*.

His natural Issue, and their respective Mothers.

*Mary*, natural Daughter of King *Charles II.* by the said *Mrs. Lucy Walters*, first married to *William Sarsfield* of *Lucan* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; after whose Death she married *William Fenshaw*, Esq; Master of Requests to King *Charles II.*

*Charlotte-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Boyle*, alias *Fitz-Roy*, Daughter of King *Charles II.* by *Elizabeth Viscountess of Shannon*, Wife of *Francis Boyle*, Viscount *Shannon* in *Ireland*: She was first married to *James Howard*, Esq; Grandson of the Earl of *Suffolk*; and on his Death to *Sir Robert Paston*, Bart. afterwards Earl of *Yarmouth*.

*Charles*, surnamed *Fitz-Charles*, by *Mrs. Katherine Peg*, frequently called *Don Carlos*: He was created Baron of *Dartmouth*, Viscount *Totness*, and Earl of *Plymouth*; and died in *Tangier* when it was besieged by the *Moors*, Anno 1680.

The King had also a Daughter by *Mrs. Peg*, who died in her Infancy.

*Charles Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Southampton*, his eldest Son by *Barbara Villiers*, Daughter and Heir to *William Villiers*, Viscount *Grandison*, and Wife of *Roger Palmer*, Earl of *Castlemain*: She was created Baroness of *Nonsuch*, Countess of *Southampton*, and Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, with

Remain-



Remainder to *Charles* and *George Fitz-Roy*, her Sons, and their Heirs Male respectively.

*Henry Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Grafton*, his second Son by the said *Barbara Villiers*.

*George Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Northumberland* his third Son by the said *Barbara*.

*Charlotte Fitz-Roy*, his second Daughter by the said *Barbara*, married to Sir *Edward Henry Lee* of *Ditchley*, in the County of *Oxford*, afterwards created Earl of *Litchfield*.

*Charles Beauclair*, Duke of *St. Albans*, the King's Son by Mrs. *Eleanor Gwyn*, who chose no Title of Honour. He had also another Son by her, named *James*; but he died very young.

*Charles Lenox* Duke of *Richmond*, his only Son by *Louisa Queroualle* a French Lady, in the Service of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, the King's Sister, afterwards created Dutchess of *Portsmouth*.

*Mary Tudor* (his Daughter by Mrs. *Mary Davis*) married to *Francis Lord Ratcliffe*, Son and Heir to *Francis Earl of Derwentwater*, whom he afterwards succeeded in that Earldom.

The  
King's Title.

King *Charles II*, being the eldest surviving Son of his Father King *Charles I*, his Title was unquestionable; and never disputed by any, but the Usurpers of his Throne; who kept him out of the Possession of his Government, the first twelve Years of his Reign.

Buildings  
and Im-  
prove-  
ments in  
this Reign.  
*London* re-  
built.

In this Reign were Rebuilt, the Cathedral of *St. Pauls*, and most of the Churches in *London* (destroyed by the dreadful Conflagration, Anno 1666) as also, the *Royal-Exchange*, the *Monument*, and the City-Gates, and other publick Structures, with upwards of  
thirteen

thirteen thousand private Houses, in so elegant a Manner, that the Town made a much more grand, uniform, and beautiful Appearance afterwards, than ever it had done in any preceding Reign. The *Royal Society* also was instituted in the Year 1660, soon after the *Restoration*, of which the King and Court were great Encouragers; and the Hospital for maimed Soldiers at *Chelsea*, was first founded, and the Plan of it laid by this Prince. But what he applied himself to with the greatest Industry, was the improving, encreasing, and strengthening the Royal Navy, which consisted of twice the Number of Tuns and Guns at the End of his Reign, than it did at his Restoration.

The *Royal Society* erected.

*Chelsea-Colledge* founded.

The *Royal Navy* improved.

The most remarkable Things which happened in this Reign, besides the terrible Fire of *London*, Anno 1666, already mentioned, were,

Remarkables.  
The *Fire*.

1. The *Plague* in the Year 1665, of which died seventy thousand Men, in *London* alone; besides thirty thousand that died of other Distempers. This is the last *Plague*, that ever we had in *England*.

The *Plague*.

2. Several Comets appeared in this Reign, the most remarkable whereof was seen at *Falmouth*, on the 22d of *November*, and for seven Days successively, two Hours every Morning before Sun-rise, and about as long after Sun-set, having a fiery Tail extended to a very great Length; and was seen the next Month in several other Parts of *England* and *Ireland*.

Comets.

3. In the Year 1683, happened the hard Frost, already mentioned, which began about the Middle of *December*, and continued to the 5th of *February*.

The *Hard Frost*.

Noblemen  
created in  
this Reign.  
*Wilmot.*

NOBLEMEN created in this Reign.

*Henry Viscount Wilmot*, created Earl of *Rocheſter*, the 13th of *December*, 1652.

*Langdale.* *Marmaduke Langdale Eſq*; created Lord *Langdale of Holme*, in the County of *York*, in *June* 1658.

*Berkley.* *William Berkley*, created Lord *Berkley of Shatton*, in the County of *Somerſet*, in *June* 1658.

Prince  
*Henry*  
Duke of  
*Gloceſter.* *Prince Henry*, Brother to King *Charles II*, created Duke of *Gloceſter*, the 13th of *May*, 1659.

*Fermin.* *Henry Fermin*, Baron of *St. Edmondsbury*, created Earl of *St. Albans*, in the Month of *April*, 1660.

*Monk.* *George Monk*, Captain-General of his Ma-  
jeſty's Forces, created Baron *Monk of Pothe-*  
*ridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes*, Earl of *Torrington*, and Duke of *Albemarle*, the 12th of *July*, 1660.

*Montague.* Admiral *Edward Montague*, created Baron *Montague of St. Neots*, Viſcount *Hinchbrook*, and Earl of *Sandwich*.

*Elizabeth Viſcounteſs of Keynelmeaky in Ire-*  
*land*, created Counteſs of *Guildford*, 14th *July*, 1660.

*Butler.* *James Butler*, Marqueſs and Earl of *Or-*  
*mond*, Earl of *Oſſory*, Viſcount *Thurles*, and  
Baron of *Arclo*, created Baron of *Lanthon*,  
and Earl of *Brecknock*, 20th *July*, 1660.

*Hyde.* *Edward Hyde*, Baron of *Hyndon*, created  
Viſcount *Cornbury in Com. Oxford*, and Earl of  
*Clarendon*, 10th of *April*, 1661.

*Charles*

Charles Cornwallis, created Lord Cornwallis <sup>Cornwallis</sup> of Eye in Com. Suffolk, 20th of April, 1661.

Nathaniel Crew, created Lord Crew of Crew. Stene in Northamptonshire, in April, 1661.

Arthur Annesley, Lord Mount-Norris, and <sup>Annesley</sup> Viscount Valencia in Ireland, created Lord Annesley of Newport-Pagnel in Com. Bucks, and Earl of Anglesey, 10th of April, 1661.

John Granville (or Greenville) created Baron Granville of Kilkhampton and Biddiford, Viscount Greenville of Lansdown, and Earl of Bath, 20th of April, 1661.

Thomas Brudenel, Baron Brudenel of Stan- Brudenel. ton, created Earl of Cardigan, in April, 1661.

Charles Howard, Viscount Morpeth, created <sup>Howard</sup> Earl of Carlisle, in April, 1661.

Arthur Capel, Baron of Hadham, in Com. Capel. Hertford, created Viscount Maldon, and Earl of Essex, in April 1661.

James Fitz-Roy, created Baron of Tindale, <sup>Fitzroy</sup> Whitcheater and Ashdale, Earl of Doncaster and <sup>Monmouth</sup> Dalkeith, Duke of Monmouth and Bucclugh, in July 1663.

Sir Henry Bennet, created Baron of Arling- Bennet. ton, in March 1663.

Charles Lord Berkley, Viscount Fitz-Har- Berkeley. ding, created Earl of Falmouth, 17th of March, 1664.

John Arundel, created Lord Arundel of Tru- Arundel. ro, Cornub. in March 1664.

Richard Boyle, Baron Clifford of Lanesbo- Boyle. rough, Troughall and Bandon, Viscount Kynalmeakie and Dungarvan, Earl of Cork in Ireland, created Earl of Burlington, 20th of March, 1664.

The Earl of Lauderdale, created Duke of Mairland. Lauderdale, 18th of April, 1672.



- Bennet.* Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, created Viscount *Therford*, and Earl of *Arlington*, 22d of April, 1672.
- Clifford.* Sir Thomas Clifford, created Baron Clifford of *Chudleigh*. in April 1672.
- Cooper*  
*Ashley.* Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord *Winburn*, created Baron Cooper of *Paulet*, and Earl of *Shaftsbury*, 23d of April, 1672.
- Howard.* Henry Howard, Lord Howard of *Castle-Rising*, created Earl of *Norwich*, 19th of October, 1672.
- Duras.* Lewis Duras, Marquess of *Blanquesfort* in France, and Captain of the Duke of York's Horse-Guards, created Baron of *Holdenby* in England, 19th of January, 1672.
- Queroualle* Louise de Queroualle, created Baroness of *Petersfield*, Countess of *Farnham*, and Dutches of *Portsmouth*, 9th of August, 1673.
- Osborne.* Sir Thomas Osborne, Lord High Treasurer, created Baron of *Kiveton*, and Viscount *Latimer*, 15th of August, 1673.
- Finch.* Sir Heneage Finch, Lord Keeper, created Baron Finch of *Darenty*, in the County of *Northampton*, 10th of January, 1673.
- Lee.* Sir Edward Henry Lee Baronet, created Baron of *Spelsbury*, Viscount *Quarendon*, and Earl of *Litchfield*, 5th of June, 1674.
- Maitland.* John Maitland, Duke and Earl of *Lauderdale* in Scotland, created Baron of *Petersham*, and Earl of *Guildford* in England, 25th of June, 1674.
- Osborne.* Thomas Osborne, Baron *Kiveton*, and Viscount *Latimer*, created Earl of *Darby*, 27th of June, 1674.
- Lennard.* Thomas Lennard, Lord *Dacres* of *Hurst Monceaux*, created Earl of *Sussex*, 5th of October, 1674.

*George Fitz-Roy*, Natural Son to King *Charles II*, by the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, created Earl of *Northumberland*, Viscount *Falmouth*, and Baron of *Pontefract*, 31st of October, 1674.

*Henry Fitz-Roy*, another of the natural Sons of King *Charles II*, by the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, created Duke of *Grafton*, in September, 1675.

*Charles Duke of Lenox*, natural Son to King *Charles II*, by *Louise de Queroualle*, Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, created Baron of — Earl of *March*, and Duke of *Richmond*, 1675.

*Charles Fitz-Roy*, first called *Limrick*, eldest natural Son to King *Charles II*, by the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, created Baron of *Newbury*, Earl of *Chichester*, and Duke of *Southampton*, 10th of September, 1675.

*Charles Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*, created Earl of *Middlesex*, 4th of February, 1675.

*Sir George Sondes*, created Baron of *Throwley*, Viscount *Sondes* of *Lees-Court*, and Earl of *Feversham*, 8th of April, 1676.

*Charles Beauclair*, created Baron of *Hedington*, and Earl of *Burford*, 27th of December, 1676.

*George Savile*, Viscount *Halifax*, created Earl of *Halifax*, 18th of July, 1679.

*Charles*, Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon*, created Viscount *Brandon*, and Earl of *Macclesfield*, 23d of July, 1679.

*John Roberts*, Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*, created Viscount *Bodmin*, and Earl of *Radnor*, in July 1679.

*Robert Paston*, Viscount *Tarmouth*, created Earl of *Tarmouth*, 30th of July, 1679.

- Berkley.* George Lord *Berkley*, created Viscount *Dursley*, and Earl of *Berkeley*, 11th of September, 1679.
- Conway.* Edward Viscount *Conway*, created Earl of *Conway*, 3d of December, 1679.
- Bayning.* Elizabeth *Bayning*, Lady *Dacres*, fourth Daughter of Paul Viscount *Bayning*, created Countess of *Sheppey* for Life, 6th of September, 1680.
- Hyde.* Lawrence *Hyde* Esq; first Commissioner of the Treasury, created Viscount *Hyde* of *Kenelworth*, and Baron of *Wootton Bassett*, in *Com. Wilts*, 23d of April, 1681.
- Finch.* Heneage *Finch*, Baron of *Darentry*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, 12th of May, 1681.
- Carteret.* Sir George *Carteret* of *Hawnes*, in *Com. Bedford*, created Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes* in the same County, in October, 1681.
- Savile.* George *Savile*, Earl of *Halifax*, created Marquiss of *Halifax*, 22d of August, 1682.
- Butler.* James *Butler*, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of *Ormond*, in *Ireland*, created a Duke of *England* with the same Title, the 9th of November, 1682.
- Hyde.* Lawrence *Hyde*, Viscount *Hyde* of *Kenelworth*, and Baron of *Wootton Bassett*, created Earl of *Rochester*, 29th of November, 1682.
- Bertie.* James *Bertie*, Lord *Norris*, eldest Son by the second Venter of *Montague Bertie*, Earl of *Lindsey*, created Earl of *Abingdon*, 30th of November, 1682.
- Noel.* Edward *Nod*, Viscount *Cambden*, created Earl of *Gainsborough*, 1st of December, 1682.
- Somerſet.* Henry *Somerſet*, Marquess of *Worcester*, created Duke of *Beaufort*, 2d of December, 1682.

*Horatio Townshend*, Baron *Townshend* of *Lynn Townshend* Regis, in *Com. Norfolk*, created Viscount *Townshend* of *Raynham*, in *December*, 1682.

Colonel *George Legg*, created Baron of *Legg*: *Dartmouth*, in *December*, 1682.

*Conyers Darcy*, Lord *Darcy* and *Conyers*, created Earl of *Holderness*, 5th of *December*, 1682.

*Thomas Windsor*, Lord *Windsor*, created *Windsor*. Earl of *Plymouth*, 6th of *December*, 1682.

*Thomas Thynne*, Baronet, created Baron *Thynne*. *Thynne*, of *Warminster*, in *Com. Wilts*, and Viscount *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*, 11th of *December*, 1682.

\* *William Hatton*, Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby, Hatton*; created Viscount *Hatton*, 17th of *December*, 1682.

*Charles Bennet*, created Baron *Ossulston* of *Bennet*. *Ossulston* in *Com. Middlesex*, in *December*, 1682.

Colonel *John Churchill*, created Baron *Churchill*. *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*, in *December*, 1682.

*Ralph Stawell Esq*; created Baron *Stawell* of *Stawell*. *Somerton*, in *Com. Somerset*, 15th of *January*, 1682.

Sir *Francis North*, Lord-Keeper, created *North*. Baron *Guilford* in *Surrey*, 23d of *September*, 1683.

*Charles Beauclair*, Earl of *Burford*, the *Beauclair*. King's natural Son by *Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn*, created Duke of *St. Albans*, 10th of *January*, 1683.

*Sidney Godolphin Esq*; created Baron *Godol- Godolphin*. *phsn* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwal*, 8th of *September*, 1684.



Statutes in this Reign. **STATUTES** passed in the Reign of King **CHARLES II.**

The Statutes of the most Consequence that passed in this Reign, were,

Long Par-  
liament  
dissolved.  
Conventi-  
on-Parlia-  
ment.

An Act of the 12 *Car. II. Cap. 1.* declaring, the Long Parliament, begun the third Day of *November*, 1640, dissolved; and that the Convention assembled the 20th of *April*, 1660, were the two Houses of Parliament, notwithstanding the Want of his Majesty's Writs of Summons, or any other Defect.

Process  
continued.

An Act of the 12 *Car. II. Cap. 3.* and *Cap. 13.* was made for the Continuance of all Process in the Courts of Law, and declaring, that Judicial Proceedings, &c. should be in his Majesty's Name.

Pardon.  
Regicides.

An Act of the 12 *Car. II. Cap. 11.* for a general Pardon; out of which, the Regicides and some others are excepted.

Interest.

An Act of the 12 *Car. II. Cap. 13.* reduces the Interest of Money, from Eight to Six *per Cent.*

29th of  
May, Re-  
stitution.

An Act of 12 *Car. II. Cap. 14.* for a perpetual anniversary Thanksgiving, for the Restoration of King *Charles II.* on the 29th of *May.*

Army dis-  
banded.

An Act of 12 *Car. II. Cap. 15* for disbanding the Army.

*Cap. 16.* enables disbanded Soldiers to exercise their respective Trades.

Clergy re-  
stored.

An Act of 12 *Car. II. Cap. 17.* for restoring the Clergy to their Rights.

Navigati-  
on.

An Act of 12 *Car. II. Cap. 18.* for the Encouragement of Navigation, prohibits the Importation of any Goods from *Asia, Africa,*

or

or *America*, but in *English* Ships; and that no Goods shall be imported in *English* Ships, but from the Places of their Growth or Manufacture; and three fourths of the Seamen are to be *English*.

Ships loading in the Plantations to give Security to bring their Cargoes to *England*, or to some *British* Plantation, and not to carry them to any foreign Country.

No Goods of the Growth of *Muscovy* shall be imported but in *English* Ships, navigated as aforesaid.

Nor any Goods from the *Turkish* Empire, unless in Vessels belonging to the Port or Place from which such Goods come.

No Wines of the Growth of *France* or *Germany* shall be imported in any but in *English* Vessels; and all Mafts, and other Naval Stores, Raisins, Figs, Prunes, Olive Oils, Corn, Grain, Sugar, Pot-Ashes, Brandy, or Spirits; Wines of the Growth of *Spain*, the *Canaries*, *Portugal*, the *Madera's*; all Goods of the Growth of *Russia*, Currants, and *Turkish* Commodities, imported in any but *English* Shipping, navigated as above, shall be deemed Aliens Goods. See an additional Act, 15 Car. 2, cap. 7. for Encouragement of Trade.

The 12 Car. 2, cap. 23, is the first legal Act for laying an Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors. Which was begun during the Usurpation.

By 12 Car. 2, cap. 24, the Court of Wards and Liveries, Tenures in Capite, and by Knights Service and Purveyances, are taken away, and a Revenue settled on the Crown in lieu thereof.

An Act of 12 Car. 2, cap. 25, For enabling his Majesty to constitute Commissioners for granting

granting Wine Licenses; and to prevent Abuses in mingling and corrupting Wines, and for setting the Prices thereof.

Regicides. An Act of 12 *Car. 2, cap. 30*, for the Attainder of the Regicides, and appointing the 30th of *January* to be observed annually as a Fast.

Wooll, Fullers Earth. 12 *Car. 2, cap. 32*, Prohibits the Exportation of Wooll, Fullers Earth, and other kinds of Scouring Earth.

Marriages. 12 *Car. 2, cap. 33*, Confirms all Marriages made by Justices of Peace during the Usurpation.

Tobacco. 12 *Car. 2, cap. 34*, Prohibits the Planting of Tobacco in *England* or *Ireland*.

Post-Office 12 *Car. 2, cap. 35*, Enacts, That a General Post-Office be erected.

Treason. 13 *Car. 2, cap. 1*, Declares it to be Treason to Conspire to depose the King, or put any Restraint upon him; and that every Person who should say his Majesty was a Papist, or

Seditious Discourses. Heretick, or, by seditious Words, stir up the People to a Dislike of his Majesty's Government, should be disabled to hold any Office or Preferment, and be punished according to

Parliament Law: And it further declares, That the Houses of Parliament have no Legislative Power, and that the Orders of the late Long Parliament are void.

Clergy. 13 *Car. 2, cap. 2*, Declares, That the Act for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction, is void.

Tumultuous Petitions. 13 *Car. 2, cap. 5*, Enacts, That no Person shall sollicite or procure the getting of Hands, or other Consent, of any Persons above the Number of twenty, to any Petition, Complaint, Remonstrance, Declaration, or Address to the King, or both or either House of Parlia-



Parliament, unless the Matter thereof have been first consented to and ordered by three or more Justices of Peace of the County, or by the major Part of the Grand Jury of the County.

13 Car. 2, cap. 6, Declares the Command Militia, of the Militia by Sea and Land to be solely in the King; and that neither both or either of King, the Houses of Parliament have any Pretence Parliament to the same, nor can lawfully levy any War, offensive or defensive, against the Crown.

13 Car. 2, cap. 7, 11, & 14, Confirms all Acts of the Convention Parliament confirmed. the Acts made in the Convention Parliam-ment.

13 Car. 2, cap. 8, Provides Carriages for his Majesty in his Royal Progresses and Removals. Carriages.

13 Car. 2, cap. 9, Contains Articles for the better Government of the Royal Navy and Navy. Ships of War.

13 Car. 2, cap. 10, Gives a Penalty of 20 l. Deer. for the unlawful hunting, taking, or killing of Deer.

13 Car. 2, cap. 12, Restores Ecclesiastical Spiritual Courts. Jurisdiction to the Bishops and Spiritual Courts; but provides against the reviving of the High-Commission Court, or any such like Court. High Com-mission.

13 Car. 2, cap. 15, Inflicts Pains and Penalties on several of the Regicides whose Lives Regicides. were pardoned.

13 Car. 2, Sess. 2, cap. 1, An Act for the Corpora-tion-Act. well-governing of Corporations; whereby all Officers are obliged to declare, *That it is not lawful, on any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, &c. to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, &c.*



- Law-Suits. 13 *Car. 2, Sess. 2, cap. 2*, Provides against frivolous and vexatious Suits of Law, and Delays in such Suits.
- Quakers. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 1*, Quakers and others refusing to take an Oath before a Magistrate when required, or persuading others not to take such Oath, and Quakers assembling in Conventicles, to forfeit 5 *l.* for the first Offence; 10 *l.* for the second, and for the third Offence to abjure the Realm.
- London Streets. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 2*, Was made for repairing and cleaning the Highways and Streets about London and Westminster, for regulating Hackney-Coaches, &c.
- Hackney-Coaches.
- Militia. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 3*, & 15 *Car. 2, cap. 4*, Declares the sole Command of the Militia to be in his Majesty; and provides Rules and Orders for the Government of the said Militia; requiring all the Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers, and Soldiers, to make the Declaration, *That it is not lawful to take up Arms against the King, &c.*
- Uniformity-Act. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 4*, Establishes the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments; and of consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, after the Manner of the Church of England.
- Highways. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 6*, Contains Orders and Directions for mending Highways.
- Leather. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 7*, Prohibits the Exportation of Leather and raw Hydes.
- Cavaliers. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 8*, Grants 60,000 *l.* to be distributed among the loyal, indigent Officers.
- Chimney-Money. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 10*, Grants a Tax of Two Shillings *per Ann.* on every Fire-Hearth or Chimney.
- Poor. 14 *Car. 2, cap. 12*, Authorizes two Justices to remove such Poor as come to inhabit in any

any Parish without a Settlement; and empowers the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* to erect Workhouses: The Justices of Peace also are empowered to transport Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 18*, Prohibits the Exportation of Wooll, Fullers Earth, and other scouring Earths. Wooll.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 20*, Provides carriages for his Majesty's Navy and Ordnance. Carriages.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 25*, Restores all Advowsons, Rectories, Tithes, &c. to his Majesty's loyal Subjects, that were taken from them by the late Usurpers. Patrons.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 29*, Reverses the L. *Strafford's* Attainder. *Strafford*.  
Earl.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 31*, Prohibits the Melting the Silver Coin of this Realm. Coin.

14 *Car. 2, cap. 33*, Prohibits the printing any heretical, seditious, schismatical, or offensive Books or Pamphlets, wherein any Doctrine is asserted contrary to the Christian Faith, or to the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of *England*; or which may tend to the Scandal of Religion, or the Church, or the Government or Governors of the Church or State, or of any Corporation; or particular Person. Impious  
and schif-  
matical  
Books pro-  
hibited.  
  
Calumnies.

All Books are prohibited to be printed which are not entered at *Stationers-Hall*, and duly licensed; and the Printing-Presses are regulated; and three Copies are reserved for the King's Library, and the two Universities. Books.  
  
Printing.  
  
Libraries.

15 *Car. 2, cap. 2*, An Act to prevent the spoiling, stealing, or cutting of Wood; and for searching the Houses and Barns of Persons suspected of Wood-stealing, &c. Wood-  
stealing, or  
spoiling.

Vestries.

15 Car. 2, cap. 5, Regulates select Vestries; every Vestryman to make the Declaration, *That it is not lawful to take up Arms against the King, &c.*

Trade,  
Navigation,  
Plan-  
tations,  
Fisheries.  
Fisheries.

15 Car. 2, cap. 7, For the Encouragement of Trade, Navigation, the Plantations, and Fisheries. See 12 Car. 2, cap. 18.

15 Car. 2, cap. 16, An Act for the regulating the Fisheries.

Bedford  
Level.

15 Car. 2, cap. 17, An Act for draining Bedford Level.

Parliament  
Triennial

16 Car. 2, cap. 1, An Act for holding a Parliament once in three Years.

Conventi-  
cles.

16 Car. 2, cap. 4, An Act for suppressing seditious Conventicles; whereby those that frequented them were to pay 5 *l.* for the first Offence, 10 *l.* for the second, or go to the House of Correction, and to be transported for the third Offence, or pay 100 *l.* And it was made Felony to escape after Conviction, or to return from Transportation. But Offenders having 5 *l.* *per Ann.* Freehold, or the Value of 50 *l.* in Personal Estate, were exempted from being sent to the House of Correction.

Seamen,  
Merchants.

By 16 Car. 2, cap. 6, Seamen who refuse to fight and defend Merchant-Ships against Pyrates, to lose their Pay; and if they do fight, and save the Ship, to be rewarded out of the Cargo, not exceeding two *per Cent.* See 22 & 23 Car. 2, cap. 11.

Play.

By 16 Car. 2, cap. 7, Persons cheating at Play, to forfeit the treble Value of what they win; and all Securities for Money won at Play exceeding 100 *l.* at any one time, to be void.



By 17 *Car. 2, cap. 1*, Dissenting Teachers are prohibited to dwell within five Miles of a Corporation, on Pain of 40 *l.* Dissenting Teachers.

By 17 *Car. 2, cap. 3*, Churches that stand near each other may be united, by the Consent of the Bishop, Patron, &c. Churches united.

17 *Car. 2, cap. 7*, An Act for the more speedy proceeding upon Distresses and Avowries for Rents. Distresses for Rent.

18 *Car. 2, cap. 4*, Is an Act for burying in Woollen, on pain of 5 *l.* Burying in Woollen.

19 *Car. 2, cap. 2*, An Act for erecting a Judicature for determining Differences concerning Houses burnt in the Fire of London. Fire of London.

19 *Car. 2, cap. 3*, Contains Rules and Directions for rebuilding the City.

By 19 *Car. 2, cap. 4*, Prisoners may be removed out of Jayls into other Places, in case of infectious Distempers. Prisoners.

19 *Car. 2, cap. 6*, Is an Act to redress Inconveniencies, for want of Proof of Persons Deaths beyond Sea, or absenting themselves, upon whose Lives Estates do depend. Deaths of Persons possessed of Estates proved.

By 19 *Car. 2, cap. 10*, The Earl of Clarendon was banished. Clarendon.

By 22 *Car. 2, cap. 1*, One Justice is empowered to suppress Conventicles, and to levy 5 *s.* by Distress and Sale, on every one who resorts to a Conventicle for the first Offence, and 10 *s.* for the second Offence; 20 *l.* on the Preacher for the first Offence, and 20 *l.* on the Person that owns the House, Barn, &c. where the Conventicle is held. Conventicles.

22 *Car. 2, cap. 11*, Contains further Directions for rebuilding London. London.

22 *Car. 2, cap. 12*, Contains further Rules and Directions for repairing Highways. Highways.

By



Corn and  
Cattle ex-  
ported.

By 22 *Car. 2, cap. 13*, Every one is allowed to export Corn, Oxen, Horses, &c.

The Maim-  
ing, or  
*Coventry*  
Act.

By 22 & 23 *Car. 2, cap. 1*, It was made Felony without Benefit of Clergy, maliciously to cut out or disable the Tongue, put out an Eye, slit the Nose, cut off the Nose or Lip, or disable any Limb or Member, of any of his Majesty's Subjects. *Coventry Act.*

Burning  
Corn.

By 22 & 23 *Car. 2, cap. 7*, If any one in the Night-time maliciously burns any Ricks or Stacks of Corn, Hay, or Grain, Barns, Out-houses, or Buildings; or kills or destroys any Horse, Sheep, or other Cattle, he shall be adjudged guilty of Felony; and the Judges may order such Offender to be transported.

Maiming  
Cattle.

If any shall in the Night-time maliciously maim or hurt any Horses, Sheep, or other Cattle, or destroy any Plantation of Trees, or throw down Enclosures, they shall forfeit to the Party grieved treble Damages.

Destroying  
Trees or  
Fences in  
the Night.

No more  
Costs than  
Damages  
in Tres-  
passes.

By 22 & 23 *Car. 2, cap. 9*, In Actions of Trespass, Assault, and Battery, and other personal Actions, where the Judge shall not certify that a Battery was proved, or the Freehold or Title of the Land chiefly in question, the Plaintiff shall recover no more Costs than Damages, if the Jury find the Damages under 40 s.

How In-  
testates  
Estates  
shall be  
administered and dis-  
tributed.

By 22 & 23 *Car. 2, cap. 10*, Ordinaries, &c. upon granting Administration, are required to take Bonds with two Sureties for the due Administration of the Intestate's Goods; and the Surplusage, after Debts and Funeral Charges paid, shall be distributed in Manner following; viz. One third to the Wife of the Intestate, and the residue among his Children, and such as legally represent them, other than such Children (not Heirs at

Law)

Law) who shall have any Estate by Settlement of the Intestate in his Life-time, equal to the other Shares: And where any such Children shall have been advanced by Settlements or Portions not equal to the other Shares, he or they shall have so much of the Surplusage as shall make the Estate of all to be equal: But the Heir at Law shall have an equal Part in the Distribution with the other Children, without any Consideration of what he hath by Descent, or otherwise, from the Intestate.

If there be no Children, nor legal Representatives of them, one Moiety or half shall be allotted to the Wife, and the Residue equally to the next of Kindred to the Intestate in equal Degrees, and to those who represent them.

No Representatives to be admitted among Collaterals after Brothers and Sisters Children. If there be no Wife, all shall be distributed among the Children; and if no Child, to the next of Kin to the Intestate in equal Degree, and their Representatives. No such Distribution shall be made till one Year after the Intestate's Death; And every one who has a Share in it, shall give Bond, with Sureties, that if Debts afterwards appear, he shall return a rateable Part.

22 & 23 Car. 2, cap. 12, & 22 Car 2, cap. 8, Regulate the Weights and Measures of Salt and Corn. Weights and Measures.

By 22 & 23 Car. 2, cap. 15, the annual Tythes of the Parishes in London, whose Churches were burnt, are settled. Tythes in London.

By 22 & 23 Car. 2, cap. 25, None may keep Dogs, Nets, Guns, or any other Engine or Instrument for taking or destroying the Game, but he who hath Lands of Inhe-

Fishing.

ritance of 100 *l. per Ann.* or for Life in his own or his Wife's Right; or a Lease of Ninety nine Years of 150 *l. per Ann.* unless the Heir of an Esquire, or other Person of higher Degree. And Persons fishing in any several Water or River, shall pay treble Damages to the Party grieved, and a Sum not exceeding 10 *s.* to the Poor. *N. B. None are deemed Esquires under the Degree of Knights Sons.*

Frauds and Perjuries prevented.

Contracts to be in Writing.

By 29 *Car. 2, cap. 3,* It is enacted, That all Leases, Estates, Interests of Freehold, or Terms of Years, or any uncertain Interests in Lands, &c. not put in Writing and signed by contracting Parties, shall have no greater Effect than as Estates at Will; except Leases not exceeding three Years, whereof the Rent shall be two thirds of the Value.

No Action shall be brought to charge a Defendant, upon any Promise, to answer for the Debt or Mis carriage of another; or upon an Agreement in consideration of Marriage; or upon any Contract or Sale of Lands, &c. or any Interest concerning them; or on any Agreement not to be performed within a Year, unless such Agreement, or a Note thereof, be in Writing, and signed by the Party to be charged, or some other authorized by him.

Devises of Lands.

All Devises of Lands or Tenements shall be in Writing, and signed by the Testator, or some other in his Presence, and by his Direction, and subscribed in his Presence by three or four Witnesses; or else they shall be void.

Three Witnesses.

Executions

No Writ of Execution shall bind the Property of Goods, but from the Time of its Delivery to the Sheriff.

Personal Contracts.

No Contract for the Sale of Goods of the Value of 10 *l.* or upwards, shall be good unless

unless the Buyer receive Part of them, or give something in Earnest, or some Note thereof in Writing be signed by the Parties to be charged, or their Agents.

No Nuncupative Will shall be good, where the Estate bequeathed exceeds 30 *l.* unless it be proved by three Witnesses present at the making thereof; nor unless the Testator bid them bear Witness, that such is his Will; nor unless it be made in the last Sickness of the Deceased in his Dwelling-house, unless he be surprized and die before his Return. And after six Months, no Testimony shall be received of such Nuncupative Will, unless the said Testimony were put into Writing within six Days after making such Will. Nuncupative Will.

No Will in Writing of any Personal Estate shall be repealed by Words only, except the same be in the Life-time of the Testator committed to Writing, read to him, approved by him; and this attested by three Witnesses. Revocation.

By 29 *Car. 2, cap. 9*, The Writ *De Heretico comburendo*, with all Proceedings thereon, and all Punishments by Death in pursuance of Ecclesiastical Censures, are abolished. Heresy.

By 31 *Car. 2, cap. 2*, Upon the Service of an *Habeas Corpus* on a Jaylor, or his Servants, or upon any other Person having a Prisoner in his Custody; the Prisoner within three Days after, upon paying or tendering twelve Pence a Mile for the Removal of him, shall be brought up, and the Writ returned, and the Cause of his Imprisonment certified: And Officers refusing to make their Returns, or bring the Prisoners up, &c. as aforesaid, shall forfeit 100 *l.* for the first Offence, and 200 *l.* for the second. *Habeas Corpus Act.*



If any Person committed to Prison for Treason or Felony, expressed in the Warrant, shall the first Week of the Term, or Day of the Sessions of *Oyer and Terminer*, pray to be brought to his Trial; if he be not indicted the next Term, or Sessions of *Oyer and Terminer*, after such Commitment, he shall, upon Motion the last Day of such Term, or Sessions, be admitted to Bail.

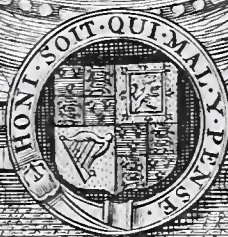
Prisoners may obtain their *Habeas Corpus* from any Judge, or out of the Chancery; and if the Lord Chancellor, Keeper, or any other Judge, shall deny such *Habeas Corpus*, he shall forfeit 500 *l.* to the Party grieved.

More beneficial  
Laws  
made in  
this Reign  
than in any  
other.

*Upon a Review of this Abstract, it must be admitted, that King Charles II. passed more Acts of Parliament for the Benefit of his Subjects, than any Prince that ever reigned before or since.*

*The End of the Reign of King CHARLES II.*





JAMES II.



## C H A P. II.

*The Reign of King J A M E S II.*

**T**HE Capacity of the late King for *A.D. 1684.*  
 Affairs of State, was sufficiently  
 manifested in the last Years of his *1 Jac. II.*  
 Reign, when he was pleased to apply him- *The great*  
 self to Business. To conquer a powerful and *Capacity*  
 obstinate Faction by pure Dint of Policy, *of the late*  
 without an Army, and without Treasure to *King.*  
 bribe or soften their Prejudices, and recon-  
 cile a People to him, who had been long  
 poysoned in their Principles, and drawn from  
 their Duty by the most artful Insinuations of  
 their great *Republican* Leaders, discovered an  
 uncommon Genius. But nothing could give a  
 greater Lustre to that Prince's Administration,  
 than the unpardonable Errors of his Suc-  
 cessor; who, notwithstanding he came to the  
 Crown with very great Advantages, was not  
 two Days upon the Throne, before he gave  
 such Indications of his future Conduct, as  
 alarmed some of his best Friends, even of his  
 own Religion. But not to anticipate Mat-  
 ters, and prejudice the Reader against an un-  
 fortunate Reign, I shall proceed to give the  
 History of it, in as favourable a Light as the  
 Truth, and Fidelity of an Historian, will ad-  
 mit; not aggravating every little Slip, or find-  
 ing Faults, where there are really none, as  
 too many Writers have done, in order to *justify*  
*the Conduct of their Friends.*

To descend to Particulars: The same Day *King*  
 King Charles II died, his Brother and Heir *James II.*  
 King James II, was proclaimed in the Cities *proclaim-*  
 of *ed.*



A.D. 1684. of London and Westminster ; immediately after  
 which, the new King made the following en-  
 gaging Speech to the Privy-Council,

1 Jac. II.

My LORDS,

His Speech  
to the  
Council.

“ Before I enter upon any other Business,  
 “ I think it fit to say something to you.  
 “ Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place  
 “ me in this Station, and I am now to succeed so  
 “ good and gracious a King, as well as so kind  
 “ a Brother ; I think it fit to declare to you,  
 “ that I will endeavour to follow so good an  
 “ Example, and most especially in his great  
 “ Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. I  
 “ have been reported to be a Man for arbitrary  
 “ Power : But this is not the only Story  
 “ that has been made of me ; and I shall make  
 “ it my Endeavour to preserve the Govern-  
 “ ment, both in Church and State, as it is  
 “ now established by Law. I know the Prin-  
 “ ciples of the Church of *England* are for  
 “ Monarchy, and the Members of it have  
 “ shewn themselves good and loyal Subjects ;  
 “ therefore, I shall always take care to defend  
 “ and support it. I know too, that the Laws of  
 “ *England* are sufficient to make the King,  
 “ as great a Monarch as I can wish : And as  
 “ I shall never depart from the just Rights  
 “ and Prerogatives of the Crown ; so I shall  
 “ never invade any Man’s Property. I have  
 “ often heretofore ventured my Life in De-  
 “ fence of the Nation ; and I shall still go as  
 “ far as any Man, in preserving it in all its  
 “ just Rights and Liberties.”

This Declaration of the King’s gave general Satisfaction ; and inclined some People to have an Opinion of him, ’tis said, who formerly

merly dreaded his Accession. But when they saw him go publickly to Mass, and profess his being a *Papist*, the *Sunday* following (the 7th of *February*) their Jealousies began to revive; though there were others who applauded his Majesty, for not dissembling his Religion; believing it possible for a *Roman Catholic* Prince, to make a good Governor of a *Protestant* Nation. But if the Duke of York acted prudently in exercising his Religion in private, when he knew it would give Offence to the People he was to govern; surely, when he was King of *England*, he had much stronger Reasons, not to give Offence, to those who were actually his Subjects. But King *Charles* was now dead, who restrained him from these Extravagancies while he lived; though he had given frequent Intimations, that he suspected his Brother's Bigottry would be too hard for his Politicks, when he was left to himself. Even the *Spaniard* and the *Pope*, we are told, advised him not to make such swift Advances towards *Rome*: His Holiness would gladly have indulged him, in keeping his Religion to himself; which made his declaring it at this Time perfectly unnecessary, and extremely impolitick.

A.D. 1688.

1 Jac. II.

He goes to Mass publickly, the first Sunday after his Accession:

Which was disapproved even by the Pope and Spain.

The King, in disposing of publick Employments however, and settling the Officers of his Household, did not yet think fit to shew much Partiality to those of his own Communion. The Duke of *Ormond*, was continued Lord Steward of the Household; the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain; the Lord Viscount *Newport*, Treasurer; the Lord *Maynard*, Comptroller, and *Henry Savile*, Esq; Vice-Chamberlain of the Household. Soon after, *Lawrence* Earl of *Rochester*, President of

Great Officers of State constituted.

of

A.D. 1684.

1 Jac. II.

of the Council, and the King's Brother-in-Law, was constituted Lord High Treasurer of *England*; the Earl of *Clarendon*, his other Brother-in-Law, was made Lord Privy-Seal; the Marquis of *Halifax*, Lord President of the Privy-Council; the Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord-President of *Wales*; the Lord *Godolphin*, Chamberlain to the Queen; and *Henry Bulkley*, Esq; was made Master of the King's Household.

King  
*James* en-  
deavoursto  
prove the  
late King  
died a  
*Papist*.

The next unnecessary Provocation the King gave his Protestant Subjects, was, his declaring the late King died a *Papist*; which was endeavoured to be proved by Father *Huddleston*, who administered the Popish Sacraments to that Prince *in extremis*; and by two Papers in his strong Box, said to be written with his own Hand, which the Reader will find in the Appendix to this History. But the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who was very intimate with King *Charles II*, and had seen and heard all that could be said upon that Subject, appears to have been of Opinion notwithstanding, that the late King was not a *Papist*, but rather a *Deist*.

A Procla-  
mation for  
Payment  
of the  
Customs.

There is another Occurrence, for which the King is highly censured by some, but, I think, without Reason; and that is, his issuing a Proclamation for the Continuance of the Payment of the Customs and Duties upon Merchandize, usually called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which had been settled upon the late King for Life; this his Majesty declared, he required only till a Parliament could be called to settle his Revenue; and for the Prevention of very great Inconveniences that must ensue, if these Duties were not continued to be paid in the mean time; particularly, that a great many Mer-

Merchants would be ruined, who had paid Custom for their Goods, which must lie upon their Hands, or be sold to very great Disadvantages, if the Merchandizes should be imported Duty free by others: To which may be added, that these Duties were absolutely necessary for the Support of the Government; and that every King had received them at their Accession, for several Generations, till they were settled on them by Parliament; unless in the Reign of King *Charles I.*

A.D. 1685.

1 Fac. 2.

The late King buried privately.

Addresses of Congratulation.

The Coronation.

And now the late King having been interred privately on the 14th of *February*, in *Henry the 7th's* Chappel, the Ambassadors, and Ministers of Foreign Princes made their Complements of Condolance and Congratulation; and Addreses of the same Nature came up from all the Counties and Corporations in the Kingdom.

On the 6th of *March*, a Proclamation issued, appointing Commissioners to adjust the respective Claims of such Noblemen and Gentlemen, as were to assist at the Coronation, appointed to be performed on the 23d of *April*; and it was solemnized accordingly with great Splendor: Only the Cavalcade, which used to be performed the Day before, from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, was omitted; which saved the King sixty thousand Pounds at least. But neither this Piece of Frugality, nor that of Burying the late King privately, to save Charges, were deemed very politick, by those who observed how much the Populace are taken with outward Pomp and Shew. Besides, it was held to border upon Ingratitude, not to afford his late Majesty the Honour of a publick Funeral, who had done and hazarded so much to preserve him from



*A.D.* 1685. being excluded the Throne. Thus far, however, King *James* seems to have been in the Right, namely, in sparing, and well husbanding his Treasure upon all proper Occasions; the Want of it in the two last Reigns, having contributed more to the Distresses of those Monarchs, than all their Mismanagements put together. And nothing is more amazing, than that a Prince of King *James's* Experience, being upwards of fifty at his Accession; with a full Treasury, a fine Army, and a Parliament, entirely devoted to his true Interests; should so suddenly find the Way of losing the Hearts of all his People; and in a manner dispossess himself of three Kingdoms, which could never have been taken from him, if he had not been infatuated.

The King  
proclaimed  
in *Scotland*  
and *Ireland*.

A Parlia-  
ment held  
in *Scotland*.

The King's  
Letter to  
them.

The High  
Commis-  
sioner's  
Speech.

In the mean Time, the King was proclaimed in *Scotland*, on the very Day he was crowned in *England*; and the Duke of *Ormond* had caused him to be proclaimed in *Ireland*, some Days before. The Parliament of *Scotland* being assembled soon after, the Duke of *Queensbury*, his Majesty's High Commissioner for that Kingdom, caused his Majesty's Letter to them, to be read; wherein he recommended principally, the suppressing the Fanatics; whose frequent Murders and Ravages had rendered the Lives and Properties of the Subjects of that Kingdom so precarious and insecure, in the last Reign.

The High Commissioner, in his Speech to the Parliament, assured them, his Majesty would protect the Church, as by Law established (which was then Episcopal :) That he would maintain the Rights and Liberties of  
the

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

the Clergy and People : That these should not be injured by arbitrary Oppressions of Soldiers or others : But then he expected, they would assert the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and establish his Revenues as amply, as they were enjoyed by his Royal Brother : And lastly, he desired that effectual Means might be taken, for destroying that desperate, Fanatical, and irreclaimable Party, who had brought them to the Brink of Ruin ; and were not only Rebels to the King, but Enemies to Mankind ; Wretches of such monstrous Principles and Practices, as past Ages never heard of, and those to come, would hardly believe there had been any such.

The Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of *Perth*, enlarged upon the same Topicks ; concluding with a very high Encomium on his Majesty : In Answer to which, the Parliament sent up an Address to the King ; wherein, after their Complements of Condolance and Congratulation, they assure him, they would offer such Laws, as might best secure his Person, the Royal Family, and Government : That they would be so exemplarily Loyal, as to raise his Honour and Greatness to the utmost of their Power ; and leave nothing undone for the Extirpation of Fanaticism. After which, they prepared and finished the three following Acts, *viz.*

The Parliament's  
Address to  
the King.

1. An Act for the Confirming all Acts and Statutes passed for the Security of the true Church of God, and the *Protestant* Religion, as then professed in that Kingdom.

Acts passed  
by the  
Scots.

2. An Act for annexing and uniting the Excise of Foreign and Inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for ever : And by a 3d Act it was provided, That all such Persons, as

A.D. 1685; be cited in Cases of High Treason, Field, or House Conventicles, or Church Irregularities, and should refuse to give Testimony, should be liable to be punished as guilty of those Crimes respectively, in which they refused to be Witnesses. But to return to *England*.

*Oates* convicted of Perjury on two Indictments.

The infamous *Titus Oates* was called to a severe Account for his repeated Perjuries in the last Reign, by which so many Men had lost their Lives. He was brought to his Trial on the 8th of *May*, at the *King's-Bench* Bar, being charged with Perjury upon two Indictments. By the first, for swearing, that he himself, and several other *Jesuits*, were at a treasonable Consult in *London*, on the 24th of *April*, 1678; whereas he was then at *St. Omers* in *Flanders*: Which being proved by a Multitude of Witnesses of good Quality, the Jury found him *Guilty*. In the second Indictment, he was charged with swearing, that *William Ireland*, the *Jesuit* executed in the late Reign, was in *London* on the 2d of *September*, 1678; whereas *Ireland* was then one hundred Miles from *London*; which was also proved by great Numbers of Witnesses, of whom Nine were *Protestants* of unexceptionable Credit. Whereupon, he was also found guilty of that Indictment; and Mr. Justice *Withins* pronounced the following Sentence, *viz.* "That the Defendant should pay 1000 Marks upon each Indictment: That he should be stript of his Canonical Habit: That he should stand in the Pillory, before *Westminster-Hall* Gate, on the *Monday* following, for an Hour; with a Paper over his Head, declaring his Crime: But that first he should walk with it round all the Courts in the *Hall*."

His Sentence.

On

On the second Indictment, the Judgment was; "That he should stand in the Pillory the *Tuesday* following, at the *Royal Exchange*: That the next *Wednesday*, he should be whipped from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*; and on the *Friday* following he should be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, by the Hands of the common Hangman: That on the ninth of *August*, every Year of his Life, he should stand in the Pillory before *Westminster-Hall Gate*; on the 9th of *August*, at *Charing-Cross*; on the 11th, over against the *Temple*; on the 2d of *September*, at the *Royal Exchange*; and on the 24th of *April* every Year at *Tyburn*."

A.D. 1685.

1 Fac. 2.

As to the Proceedings at these Tryals, the Evidence produced, and the Defence made by the Prisoner, I must desire the Reader to have Recourse to the *State Trials*; and not to trust to the partial Representations on either Side: And though some People complain loudly of the Severity of the Sentence, and the Execution of it; yet if it be considered, that the Criminal ought in Equity to have paid the Forfeit of his own Life, for the Lives he had taken away by his numerous Perjuries, though the Laws of *England* do not extend so far; and that in other Reigns there have been severer Whippings for much less Crimes, they will cease to censure the Punishment of a Wretch, who was the Reproach of Human Nature, and deemed so guilty, even by his Friends, at the *Revolution*, that he could never get those Judgments against him reversed.

Remarks  
on his Punishment,

*Dangerfield*, another Plot Discoverer, was brought to his Trial the 30th of the same Month, for framing a seditious Libel formerly

*Dangerfield's*  
Trial.

ly



A.D. 1685 ly mentioned, reflecting on the late King and Government; of which being convicted, he was sentenced to stand twice in the Pillory, to be whipped from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* one Day, from *Newgate* to *Tyburn* another; and to pay a Fine of 500 *l*. This Man having undergone both his Whippings, and being brought by *Gray's-Inn Gate* in a Hackney-Coach, in his Return from *Tyburn*, *Robert Francis*, Esq; a Barrister of that *Inn*, came to the Coach-Side, and in an insulting Manner asked the Criminal, whether he had had his Heat that Morning: Whereupon, *Dangerfield* cursed him, called him Son of a Whore, and spit in his Face; which put *Francis* in a Passion, and occasioned his striking or pushing the Prisoner in the Face with his Cane, which unfortunately running into his Eye, *Dangerfield* died a few Hours after: And though this was evidently a pure Accident, Mr. *Francis* was tried, and convicted of Murder, and the Applications made for his Pardon rejected; the Granting it being looked upon as a very unpopular Thing at that Time; for *Francis* was represented as a *Papist* or a *Jesuit*, and to have been set on to murder *Dangerfield* by some great Man, lest he should make some unlucky Discoveries, though nothing could be farther from that. *Francis* acknowledged indeed, when he came to die, That his insulting *Dangerfield* in those Circumstances was not agreeable to the Rules of Christianity, or even Morality; but that he had no manner of Malice against him, or even any Forethought about the Matter: He said, He had led a quiet, inoffensive Life in *Gray's-Inn* for twelve Years, without any Quarrel; and that his whole Life had been without any violent Action,

He is killed  
accidentally  
by Mr.  
*Francis*;

who is  
hanged  
for it.

tion, unless this single Extravagance : And as to his Religion, he made it appear he was a true Son of the Church of *England*.

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

Baxter's  
Trial.

The same Day *Dangerfield* was tried, *Rich. Baxter*, the great Presbyterian Preacher, who had been so zealous in spiriting up the People against the Government in the Reigns of *Charles I.* and *II.* was brought to his Trial at the *King's-Bench Bar*, for a scandalous Libel entitled, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament*; wherein he reflected on the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*: Of which he was convicted, and fined 500*l.* The Brethren seemed very angry with the Lord Chief Justice, that he did not use this Father with more Respect at his Trial, but treated him with rough Language; particularly they relate that the Chief Justice said, *They had now a Saint to deal with; but he knew how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners.* Adding, *Yonder stands Oates in the Pillory* (as he did at that time at the Hall-Gate) *and he says he suffers for the Truth; and so does Baxter: But if Baxter did but stand on the other Side of the Pillory with him, I would say, There stood two of the vilest Rogues and Rascals in the Kingdom.* And again; *Thou art an old Fellow, and an old Knave; thou hast written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition as an Egg is full of Meat.* And on Summing up the Evidence the Chief Justice said, *He is as modest now as can be; but Time was when no Man was so ready at, Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; and, To your Tents, O Israel;* with a great deal more of the same kind. But how- ever the Chief Justice might incur the Displeasure of the Faction, by treating their great Teacher in so rude a Manner, it appears he

Creations  
of Nobility.

was

A.D. 1685 was highly in Favour at Court; for he was in the same Month created Baron *Jeffries* of *Wem* in the County of *Salop*: And about the same time *Henry Fermyn* of *Clevely* in the County of *Cambridge*, Esq; was created Baron of *Dover* in *Kent*; and *John Lord Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*, was created Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge* in the County of *Hertford*.

Elections  
of Parlia-  
ment very  
pacifick.

In the mean time the Elections of Parli-  
ament were carried on with the greatest Mode-  
ration and Unanimity that ever was known;  
the Court left the People entirely to them-  
selves, without endeavouring to influence them  
one way or other; and the Faction being  
under Prosecution for their former seditious  
Practices, did not think fit to give the Go-  
vernment any further Provocation, by their  
rebellious Struggles to introduce Republican  
Representatives into the House of Commons:  
Whereupon it is observed, that Gentlemen of  
the best Fortunes and Credit in their respec-  
tive Counties were generally returned: And  
on the 19th of *May* they assembled at *West-*  
*minster*, in pursuance of their Summons.

The Par-  
liament  
meet.

The King coming to the House the first  
Day of the Session, the Commons were or-  
dered to choose a Speaker, and to present  
him the same Afternoon; which was done  
accordingly, Sir *John Trevor* being chosen,  
and approved by his Majesty. Two or three  
Days having been spent in taking the Oaths  
by the Members, the King came to the House  
again the 22d instant, and made a Speech to  
both Houses; wherein he repeated the Assu-  
rances he had given the Privy Council at his  
Accession, of supporting the Church of *Eng-*  
*land*, and maintaining the Liberties and Pro-  
perties of all his Subjects; and said, He did  
not

The King's  
Speech,  
April 22.  
He repeats  
his Assu-  
rances to  
protect  
their Reli-  
gion and  
Properties.

not doubt of meeting with suitable Returns, particularly in what related to the Settling his Revenue, and Continuing it during his Life, as was done in the Time of the King his Brother: That some Men might object, that the best Way to secure frequent Parliaments would be, to feed him from time to time by such Proportions as they thought convenient; but he must let them know, once for all, that this would be a very improper Method to take with him; and that *the best Way to engage him to meet them often was to use him well.* He added, That he had received Advice that Morning, that *Argyle* was landed in the *West Highlands* of *Scotland*, with the Men he brought from *Holland*, and had published two Declarations, one in his own Name, and the other in the Name of those who were in Arms with him, in which the King was charged with Usurpation and Tyranny; but he should take Care, he said, that their Rebellion met with the Reward it deserved; not doubting but this would make the Parliament more zealous to support his Government, and to give him the Revenue he had desired, without Delay.

The same Afternoon the two Houses waited on his Majesty with an Address of Thanks for his Speech; and were no sooner returned to their House, but they unanimously resolved to give his Majesty the same Revenue that had been granted to the late King for Life; which is said to have amounted to Two Millions *per Ann.* (but then this was for the defraying of all the ordinary Charges of the Government; *viz.* of the Navy, Guards, and Garrisons, and other Expences, as well as the Civil List) The Commons also resolved to as-

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

Demands  
his Revenue  
for  
Life:Acquaints  
them that  
*Argyle* was  
landed in  
*Scotland*.The Commons  
grant  
the King  
all he askspromise to  
stand by  
him.



A.D. 1685. list his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes  
against the Earl of *Argyle*.

1 Jac. 2.

The Lords  
bailed out  
of the  
Tower, are  
discharged.

In the mean time the House of Peers, upon the Petition of the Lords who had been bailed out of the *Tower*, thought fit to discharge their Bail, and dismiss them: A Bill also passed that House, for reversing the Lord Viscount *Stafford's* Attainder; but it was dropped in the Lower House, after it had received a second Reading.

Prepara-  
tions in  
*Scotland*  
against  
*Argyle*.

The *Scots* about the same time passed an Act, declaring, That the taking the National Covenant, or the Solemn League and Covenant, writing in Defence of them, or maintaining them to be lawful or obligatory, should be adjudged High-Treason: And some little time before the Arrival of *Argyle*, the Government having received Advice of his intended Enterprize, a Proclamation was published at *Edinburgh*, requiring the Subjects of that Kingdom to be in Arms to suppress any Insurrection that might happen; and that those who dwelt near the Coasts should endeavour to prevent any Descent, and beat off *Argyle* and his Followers, if they attempted to land. The Parliament of that Kingdom also ordered the Sentence of High-Treason which he lay under to be executed upon him, if he should be taken. However, *Argyle* having prevailed on the Duke of *Monmouth* to make a Descent in *England* about the same time, set Sail from *Holland* the second of *May* with three small Vessels, and on the fifth instant appeared near the Islands of *Orkney* on the North of *Scotland*; where sending his Secretary and Surgeon on Shore, they were both made Prisoners by the People of the Country, and sent to *Edinburgh*: Which unexpected Reception induced him to set Sail  
for

*Argyle*  
lands in  
*Scotland*.

for the West *Highlands*; where he landed at a ruinous Castle called *Dunstaffage*, formerly belonging to himself; into which he put a Garrison, and advanced into the Country, publishing the Declarations already mentioned, and inviting his Friends, by his Letters, to come in to him with their Vassals and Dependants.

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

*Argyle*, in the first of his Declarations, which he published in the Name of the Protestant People of that Kingdom, and several Pastors and Gentlemen of the English Nation that had joined them, endeavours to shew the great Advantages the Protestant Religion had received by the Success of the War against K. Charles, which he ascribes to the Blessing of God, and the Goodness of the Cause; and declares against the Duke of York's ascending the Throne, who had been excluded by the Commons of *England*; affirming, That the Commons of both Kingdoms, at that time assembled in Parliament, were packed Cabals, returned by Fraud and Injustice: That they took up Arms therefore against James Duke of York, and his Accomplices, for restoring the Protestant Religion, the Suppression of Popery, and its bitter Root PRELACY; and for restoring all those to their Rights, who had been Sufferers for their Religion and Liberties; and added, That they would never enter into any Capitulation or Treaty with the Duke of York, but prosecute the War till they had obtained their Ends, inviting their Brethren of *England* and *Ireland* to join them.

The Substance of his Declarations.

The second Declaration only relates to the private Hardships *Argyle* pretended to have suffered, in being unjustly condemned, deprived of his Estate, and forced to live in Exile;

A.D. 1685 and invites his Friends and Relations to assist him in opposing the Oppression and Tyranny of the Duke of York.

1 Jac. 2.

As an Antidote against these Declarations, the Government of *Scotland* required the Subjects of that Kingdom to renew their Oaths of Allegiance, and assert the Royal Prerogatives whenever they should be required by the Council, on Pain of Banishment, or Imprisonment.

The Speaker's Speech on presenting the King with the Bill for his Revenue.

In *England* the Parliament expressed all the Duty imaginable for his Majesty; and not only promised to stand by him against *Argyle*, and all Traitors and Rebels whatever; but, having gone through the Bill for settling the King's Revenues, the Speaker of the Commons on presenting it said, *We bring not with it any Bill for the Preservation or Security of our Religion, which is dearer to us than our Lives: In that we acquiesce intirely, and rest wholly satisfied in your Majesty's sacred Word, repeated Declarations, and Assurances, to support and defend the Religion of the Church of England as by Law established. We present this Revenue to your Majesty, without the Condition of any additional, appropriating, or tacking Clauses whatsoever, beseeching your Majesty to accept it; with our hearty Prayers, That God Almighty would bless you with a long Life, and happy Reign, to enjoy it.*

His Majesty's Speech in Answer to it.

Whereupon his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses; and, having thanked them heartily for this Bill, he reminded them, that the Stores of the Navy and Ordnance were extremely exhausted; that the Anticipations on several Branches of the Revenue were great and burthensome; that the Debts of the King his Brother to his Servants and Family were such as deserved Compassion; and that the

Rebel-



Rebellion in *Scotland* would put him to a considerable Expence; and moved them to provide an Aid for these Things: But above all he recommended to them the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the Nation, and that they would put him into such a Condition as to make him respected at home and abroad; assuring them, he had a true *English* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as they could be; and he pleased himself with the Hopes, that, by God's Blessing, and their Assistance, he might carry its Reputation yet higher in the World than ever it had been in the Time of his Ancestors.

And so satisfied were the Commons with these glorious Professions, that they unanimously resolved to grant his Majesty a Supply for the Navy, Ordnance, and Stores, the Defence of the Kingdom, and all other Occasions mentioned in his Majesty's Speech; voting an additional Duty on Wines and Vinegar, and a further Imposition upon Sugars and Tobacco, as a Fund for the said Supply; which produced the following Message from

the King; viz. "That he heartily thanked the House for their Readiness in his Supplies; That he desired no more this Session than they were about; That he would make Trial of the Impositions on Sugars and Tobacco; but if he found them injurious to his Plantations, he would not make use of them." Which must be observed, to the Honour of King *James*, to be the only Message of the Kind that ever was sent from the Throne.

In the mean time *Argyle* raised between three and four thousand Men in his own Country, among his Tenants and Friends; but finding

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. II.

Further Supplies granted.

The King tells them he desires no more Money.

*Argyle declines.*



A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. II.

His Arms  
and Am-  
munition  
taken.

He flies  
before the  
King's  
Forces,

and is  
taken,


finding the King's Forces much superior to him, he retired and encamped in the Isle of *Bute*; whither also he was pursued by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, his Majesty's General, the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and several other Lords: Whereupon he transported his Troops, by the Help of his Boats and Shipping, to another Island, shifting from Place to Place, till two or three of the King's Men of War arrived; when he was compelled to quit the Islands, and march into the Country, having first put most of his Cannon, Small Arms, and Ammunition he brought with him, into the Castle of *Ellengrog*, and left a Garrison for its Defence: But the King's Ships coming before that Castle the very Day he marched away, it was surrendered to them on the firing the first Gun; which proved an irreparable Loss to the Rebels: For besides their Cannon, there were found in the Place five thousand Small Arms, and five hundred Barrels of Powder, which fell into the Enemies Hands, with the Shipping in the Road: Upon the News whereof, *Argyle* and his Followers thought of nothing else but shifting for themselves; and being so hotly pursued, that they were forced to disperse, *Argyle* afterwards quitted his Horse near the Banks of a River, endeavouring to conceal himself among the Reeds and Flags, almost up to the Neck in Water; where he was discovered by a Countryman, who knocked him down, and having dragged him out of the Mud and Water, delivered him to the Commanding Officer; who sent him Prisoner to *Edinburgh*. Thus was the *Unfortunate Argyle* (as he called himself)

himself) taken on the 17th of *June*, about a *Month* after his Arrival in *Scotland*. A.D. 1685.

The King's Army, meeting with little Opposition from the rest of the Rebels, were (by Bishop *Burnet's* Confession) extremely merciful and compassionate, as well as the Civil Magistrate; *little Blood being spilt in the Field, and not much in the Way of Justice afterwards*, as he observes: And yet he can never forgive the Executing of *Argyle* and that notorious Assassin *Rumbold*, with two or three more that were taken with him, and made Examples of. 1 Jac. II.  
with *Rumbold*, the Assassin,

The Earl of *Argyle* was beheaded at *Edinburgh* on the 30th of *June*, in pursuance of a former Sentence passed on him for High-Treason; which Bishop *Burnet* looks upon to be no better than Murder; though he confesses that the Earl justified all he had done, complained of *Monmouth* for delaying his Enterprize against *England* so long, and afterwards assuming the Title of King: But what makes Dr. *Burnet's* Lamentations for the Earl of *Argyle* the less regarded is, his endeavouring to defend *Rumbold*, who laid the Plot for murdering the late and present King at his House at the *Rye* in *Hertfordshire*; for even this compassionate Bishop in his Posthumous History acknowledges, that *Rumbold* at his Execution confessed, "That he had heard many Propositions at Counsellor *West's* Chamber for killing the late and present King; That the Criminal himself had shewn it might easily be effected at his House at the *Rye*, and that there was a Discourse how to manage it." After which, and his being taken in actual Rebellion, surely none but a Well-wisher to the Cause would have endeavoured to defend such a Wretch, or

A.D. 1685. or have reflected on the Government for executing him.

1 Fac. II.  
  
*Aylloff*, one of the Rebels, stabs himself.

Colonel *Aylloff*, another of the *English* Rebels taken with *Argyle*, endeavoured to prevent the Execution, by stabbing himself several times with a Penknife; but lived to be hanged afterwards in *England*.

The Duke of *Monmouth* lands in the West.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had promised the Earl of *Argyle*, as has been intimated already, to land in the West of *England* soon after he should make a Descent in *Scotland*: But the Duke meeting with several Disappointments in his Preparations, and contrary Winds in his Passage, did not arrive on the Coast of *England* till the 11th of *June*, having with him only a small Man of War and two Tenders, on board of which were about five thousand small Arms, and fourscore military Men; those who make the most of them say, his Followers did not amount to an hundred and fifty: An inconsiderable Number to attempt the Conquest of three Kingdoms, if he had not depended on a general Revolt in his Favour! With these he ventured on Shore at *Lime*, a Port and Borough-Town in *Dorsetshire*, and set up his Standard in the Market-Place there without Opposition, and was immediately joined by several of the Townsmen: Whereupon the Duke ordered a Paper to be read, which he entitled, *The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, and the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, now in Arms for the Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Rights, and Privileges of England*. And herein they set forth, That all the Boundaries of the Government had of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted to turn this limited Monarchy into an absolute Tyranny.

His Declaration.



ranny; charging the King, whom they still stile *Duke of York*, with the Burning of *London*, the Popish Plot, Justice *Godfrey's* and the Earl of *Essex's* Murders, and even with Poisoning the late King: They charge his Majesty also with seizing the Charters, and all the Mismanagements of the late Reign; and assert, That his declaring himself a Papist had rendered him incapable of the Crown; for which they appealed to a Free Parliament; suggesting, That the present Parliament were a packed Assembly of the Duke of *York's* Creatures, who ought not to be regarded as such: They declare, that they had been compelled to have Recourse to Arms, as well for the vindicating their Religion and Laws, and rescuing their Country from Ruin and Destruction; as to revenge the late King's Death upon the Duke of *York*, &c. That the Duke of *Monmouth* was the legitimate Son of the late King, though he did not at present insist upon his Title, but should leave the Determination thereof to the Wisdom and Justice of a Parliament legally chosen, and acting with Freedom: And having invited all the Subjects of *Great Britain*, as well as all Protestant Princes and States, to join the Duke and the Earl of *Argyle*, they conclude in these Words; *Our Dependance and Trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose Name we go forth, and to whom we commit our Cause, and refer the Decisison of it in the Day of Battle. Now let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto him.*

His Majesty having received Advice of the Landing of the Duke of *Monmouth* in the West of *England*, sent a Message to both Houses of Parliament, to acquaint them with it, on the



A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

The Par-  
liament  
promise to  
stand by  
the King;  
attaint the  
Duke of  
*Monmouth*.

5000 *l.* set  
upon his  
Head.

A further  
Supply  
voted.

The Houses  
adjourn.

*Monmouth*  
advances  
from *Lyme*  
to *Taunton*.

13th of *June*: Whereupon they waited on the King with an Address of Thanks, for communicating this Advice to them; promising to stand by him against the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all other Rebels and Traitors. A Bill for attainting the Duke of High-Treason also being brought into the House of Commons, was read three times in both Houses within the Space of two Days, and received the Royal Assent the 16th instant: And at the Instance of both Houses the King published a Proclamation, offering a Reward of Five thousand Pounds to any one that should bring in the Duke of *Monmouth*, dead or alive; and another for suppressing the Declaration published by the Duke. The Commons also voted the King a further Supply of four hundred thousand Pounds, in Consideration of the Expences he would be put to by the Rebellion in the West; and were so expeditious in passing their Resolution into an Act, that it received the Royal Assent the 27th of *June*. His Majesty came again to the House the 2d of *July*; and having passed an Act to encourage the Building of Ships, and some others, the Houses were directed to adjourn themselves to the fourth of *August*.

In the mean time *Monmouth* having assembled about two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, within four Days after his Arrival at *Lyme*, began his March on the 15th of *June* towards *Axminster*, a little Town about four Miles from thence; and discovering the Duke of *Albemarle* at the Head of four thousand of the Militia, bending his March to the same Place, he used such Diligence that he possessed himself of the Town before *Albemarle* came up; and it was expected that this would

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

would have brought on an Engagement; but it seems the Duke of *Albemarle* found so many of the Militia in *Monmouth's* Interest, that he thought it more prudent to decline fighting; nor was he much in the wrong, for the succeeding Night several of his Men deserted over to the Rebels: And *Monmouth* finding he had little to apprehend from that Body, continued his March to *Taunton-Dean* in *Somersetshire*, where he arrived on the 18th; and having encreased his Forces by this time to five or six thousand Men, it was resolved that he should take upon him the Stile and Title of King; and he was proclaimed accordingly on the 20th of *June*, by the Name of JAMES II. Though this was contrary to his own Declaration, wherein he submitted his Title to the Judgment of the Parliament, and, 'tis said, contrary to his own Opinion; for he apprehended it would lose him a great many of his Republican Friends, and too soon discover the true Motives of his Expedition: But a Majority of his Followers were positive for his taking the Regal Title upon him, imagining that if they fought under a King *de facto*, it would skreen them from the Guilt, or at least the Punishment of High-Treason: And thereupon he submitted to his being proclaimed King. But however that was, the Duke no sooner found himself invested with the Title, but he immediately began to act as if he was really Sovereign of *Great Britain*, issuing three several Proclamations; by the first of which he offered a Reward of 5000 *l.* to any Person who should bring him the D. of *York's* Head, as he called the King; by the second he declared the Parliament a seditious Assembly, and required them to separate before the

He is proclaimed King, contrary to his Declaration, and his own Opinion.

He sets 5000 *l.* upon the King's Head.

Requires the Parliament to disperse,

A.D. 1685 End of *June*, on pain of being dealt with as Traitors; and by the third he required the Duke of *Albemarle*, who was advanced within six Miles of *Taunton* at the Head of the Militia of *Devonshire*, to lay down his Arms, on pain of High-Treason.

1 *Fac. 2.*  
and the  
Royalists to  
lay down  
their Arms.  
The King  
in some  
Perplexity:

Raises the  
Militia, on  
whom he  
had little  
Depend-  
ance;

yet of some  
Service to  
him.

The King in the mean time provided in the best Manner he could for his Defence; but the Rebellion in *Scotland* not being suppressed at the Time of *Monmouth's* Landing, he was in some Perplexity at first; all the Regular Troops in the Kingdom did not amount to above four or five thousand Men, and these lay dispersed in distant Places, unless about two thousand of them, which were quartered in and near *London*; and these seemed scarce able to prevent an Insurrection in the City, where *Monmouth* had many Friends, who had promised to appear in Arms upon his Landing, and make a Diversion in his Favour. In these Circumstances all that the King could do was, to order the Militia to be raised in those Counties where the Danger was greatest: And though many of the common People, of whom they were composed, could not be depended on in an Engagement, as well on account of their being undisciplined, as their known Affection for *Monmouth*; yet, as they were commanded by the Nobility and principal Gentry of the respective Counties, they were of great Service, in seizing of Arms and Horses, which the Rebels would otherwise have possessed themselves of; as well as in securing the great Towns, and apprehending suspected Persons, and thereby preventing the Defection from becoming more general. Accordingly we see the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord Lieutenant of that County, secured the City of



of *Bath*; the Duke of *Beaufort*, with the Mi- A.D. 1685.  
 litia of *Glocestershire*, possessed the City of *Bri-*  
*stol*; the Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Militia of *Wiltshire*, lay at *Chippenham*; and the Duke  
 of *Albemarle*, with a flying Army formed out  
 of the Militia of *Devonshire*, attended the Re-  
 bels Motions, cutting off their Provisions, and  
 retarding their March which way soever they  
 enclined, by possessing himself of the Passes  
 that lay in their Way; but with Orders, not  
 to venture a general Engagement till he should  
 be reinforced by Regular Troops: For the  
 King had not only sent for the six Regiments  
 in the Service of the *Dutch*, but, hearing at  
 the same time that the Rebellion in *Scotland*  
 was in a manner suppressed, he had determi-  
 ned to send his Guards and some other Forces  
 into the West, to make Head against *Mon-*  
*mouth*: And if these had not been sufficient,  
 the Prince of *Orange* had offered to lend the  
 King what Troops he wanted, and even to  
 come over in Person to command them; being  
 very well apprized, that if *Monmouth* succeed-  
 ed, he must never expect to see the Princess of  
*Orange* upon the Throne of *England*. How-  
 ever, the King thanked the Prince for the  
 friendly Offer, and let him know, *That their*  
*common Interest required he should remain in Hol-*  
*land.*

The Militia  
ordered not  
to engage.

Six Regi-  
ments ar-  
rive from  
*Holland.*

Prince of  
*Orange* of-  
fers to  
bring over  
more  
Forces.

In the mean time *Monmouth* having nothing  
 but the Militia to contend with, and these de-  
 clining to engage him in the open Field, he  
 advanced on the 21st of *June* to *Bridgwater*, a  
 great Town about seven Miles to the Eastward  
 of *Taunton*; where his Declaration and Pro-  
 clamations were read; and from thence he  
 continued his March to *Glastonbury*, and came  
 within three or four Miles of *Bristol*, of which  
 he

*Monmouth*  
advances to  
*Bridgwater*

He at-  
tempts to  
possess  
himself of  
*Bristol* and  
*Bath* in  
vain.



A.D. 1685 he was determined to take Possession; but a Party of his Men meeting with a Repulse at *Cansham* Bridge, about three Miles from *Bristol*, he altered his Mind, and marched to the City of *Bath*, which he summoned to surrender; but his Summons being slighted, and his undisciplined Troops not prepared to form a Siege, he withdrew, and possessed himself of *Frome*, a large open Town; where he received Advice, that his Friend *Argyle* was defeated, and a Body of Regular Forces were upon their March from *London* into the West: Whereupon he retired in some Confusion to *Bridgwater*; whither he was followed by the King's Generals, the Earl of *Feversham*, the Lord *Churchill*, &c. with two thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse and Dragoons, supported by the Militia of the neighbouring Counties.

He retires to *Bridgwater*; whither he is pursued by the Guards, and other Regular Forces.

They encamp at *Sedgmore*, and block up *Bridgwater*.

*Monmouth* attempts to surprize the King's Forces at *Sedgmore*.

The Earl of *Feversham* took up his Headquarters with the Horse at a Village called *Weston*, about three Miles from *Bridgwater*, encamping his Foot on a fine Meadow called *Sedgmore*, with a large Ditch in their Front, which had been thrown up for a Drain; there the Earl proposed to remain, and straiten the Rebels Quarters, till he was reinforced by another Body of Troops that he expected: But *Monmouth* finding himself in a manner blocked up on every Side by the Regular Troops, or the Militia, his Men disheartened by the Retreat from *Bristol*, Provisions growing scarce, and his Forces daily deserting him, while those of the King's encreased, resolved to make one bold Push for the Crown before his Circumstances grew worse: Accordingly he marched out of *Bridgwater* the fifth of *July* at Night, in hopes of surprizing the Earl of *Feversham's* little

A.D. 1685

1 Fac. 2.

little Army in their Sleep; believing that in the Confusion and Disorder he should find them, his own new raised Men, animated by an Opinion that God fought for them, and the Righteousness of their Cause, might prove at least equal to those of the Enemy: But it seems the Earl had received Advice of the Rebels falling out of *Bridgwater* in the Night; and while the Duke marched with great Secrecy (as he thought) and drew up his Men on the fatal Meadow of *Sedgmore*, News was brought him that the King's Foot stood ready to receive him: However, it being now too late to retreat, he encouraged his Men, who advanced shouting and hallooing, and charged the King's Foot very briskly; but not being supported by their Horse, who fled out of the Field as soon as the King's Cavalry appeared, the Rebels Foot were charged both in Flank and Rear by the King's Horse, and before Four a Clock in the Morning entirely defeated; about twelve hundred of the Rebels being killed upon the Spot, and near twice as many made Prisoners, the Duke of *Monmouth*, with the Lord *Grey*, his General of the Horse, being fled out of the Field before the Battle was well over.

A Battle ensues.

*Monmouth* is routed.

The Rebels afterwards gave out, That the Reason they had no better Success was, that their Officers did not follow their Guides; whereupon great Part of their Forces got into a Bog, which disordered them, and gave Time to the Royalists to form themselves; however, they were of Opinion they should have gained the Victory notwithstanding, if the Lord *Grey*, who commanded their Horse, had not occasioned their Defeat, either by his Treachery or Cowardice: Had he given the King's

A.D. 1685. King's Horse one Charge (they say) or kept his Troops in a Body, he might have prevented the King's Cavalry falling upon their Infantry; and in that Case Victory would probably have declared for them. But if it be

Reasons of  
the Rebels  
Defeat.

New raised  
Men and  
Horses can  
never en-  
gage vete-  
ran Troops  
with any  
Hopes of  
Success.

considered, that it is agreed on all hands, that they found the King's Foot drawn up in Battalia ready to receive them, with a great Ditch, or Trench, in their Front; that the Rebels were disordered by falling into a Bog, or Morass, before they could reach the Camp of the Royalists; that the Horses of the Rebels Cavalry were just taken from the Plow, and would not stand Fire, and that they were mounted by undisciplined Country Fellows, who scarce knew how to ride; in these Circumstances, had they been commanded by the best General in *Europe*, it could not have been expected they should have stood the Charge of a well-disciplined Body of seven hundred Horse, as the King's were: Add to this, that the Royalists had a Train of Artillery with them, which did great Execution upon the Rebels; and it must be admitted, they had no manner of Reason to expect better Success. Indeed all *Monmouth's* Hopes seem to have been founded on his *Surprising* the King's Forces in their Sleep; for if he had thought fit to have engaged them in the Day-time, he would have done it on their March, before they were so advantageously posted as he found them at *Sedgmore*: The Rebels, 'tis true, were twice the Number of the King's Forces; but as both Horse and Foot were new raised, and had very few Officers, or even Gentlemen, amongst them, they were very unfit to encounter Regular Troops, supported by a vast Body of the Militia in their

their



their Rear: And whoever shall again attempt an Invasion of this Kingdom, without regular Forces to oppose those he may expect to meet with here, ought not to promise himself better Success than *Monmouth* had. But to proceed,

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

The Day after the Engagement, viz. the 7th of *July* 1685, the Duke of *Monmouth* was taken in a Ditch, where he endeavour'd to conceal himself. The Duke wrote to his Majesty in the most abject Manner, when he was in Custody, endeavouring to move his Compassion; pretending an Abhorrence of what he had done, as he did on much the like Occasion in the late Reign, when he was detected of being in the Conspiracy with my Lord *Russel*, *Sidney*, &c. He also desired in the most pressing Terms to be brought into his Majesty's Presence, that he might convince him of his Sincerity and Zeal for his Service. The King condescending to see him, the Duke repeated the Assurances he had given in his Letter, and again implor'd his Majesty's Mercy, and in Order to obtain it, sign'd a Paper, acknowledging, that the late King told him he was never married to his Mother; but the King apprehending him too dangerous and enterprizing a Rival, this being the second Attempt he had made upon the Crown, suffer'd the late Act of Attainder to take place, and he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* on *Wednesday*, *July* 17th; when the Reverend Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Tennison*, and Dr. *Hooper*, labour'd to make him acknowledge the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to no Purpose; for he persuaded himself he was innocent, and that he should go to God; so little Stress is to be laid upon the pretended

*Monmouth*  
taken.



A.D. 1685 sincere Confessions of the greatest Men, which are extorted from them by the Fears of Death, as those were from the Duke in *Sidney's* Conspiracy, and in the present Case, when he threw himself at his Majesty's Feet, pretending a just Detestation of his Crime, and the sincerest Zeal for his Service: Nay, in both Cases he proceeded so far as to offer to make Discoveries, and to be Witness against those whom he had by specious Pretences drawn into Rebellion, and what could the vilest of Mankind have done worse? What is there in Noble, what in Royal Blood above the Vulgar, who can submit to such base Arts to save a wretched Life? The People had need of better Assurances of the Honour and Fidelity of their Leaders, than what their Quality inspires them with, before they put themselves, their Fortunes and Families, into their Power.

Mr. Echard's Account of the Duke's Execution.

Mr. *Echard* relates, That the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Tennison* and Dr. *Hooper*, being sent to the Duke of *Monmouth* in the *Tower* to prepare him for his Execution, they got him to own the King's Title to the Crown; and to declare in Writing, That the last King told him, he was never married to his Mother, and by Word of Mouth to acknowledge his Invasion was a Sin; but could never get him to confess it a Rebellion. They got him likewise to own, That he and the Lady *Herriot Wentworth* had liv'd, in all Points, like Man and Wife, but they cou'd not make him confess it was Adultery. He acknowledged, that he and his Dutches were married by the Law of the Land, and therefore his Children might inherit, if the King pleas'd; but he did not consider what he did

when

when he married her. He confess'd, that <sup>A D. 1685</sup> he had liv'd many Years in all Sorts of Debauchery; but said, he had repented of it, <sup>1 Jac. 2.</sup> and doubted not but that God had forgiven him: He said, that, since that Time, he had an Affection for the Lady *Herriot*, and pray'd, that if it were pleasing to God it might continue, otherwise that it might cease, and God heard his Prayer: The Affection did continue, therefore he doubted not but it was pleasing to God, and that this was a Marriage; their Choice of one another, being guided not by Lust, but by Judgment upon due Consideration. They endeavour'd to shew him the Falshood and Mischievousness of this Enthusiastical Principle, the Bane of so many Souls in the late Times of Confusion; but he told them, that it was his Opinion, and he was fully satisfied in it. After all, he desired them to give him the Sacrament the next Morning; but they told him, they could not do it while he persisted in that Error and Sin. His Answer was, he was sorry for it; and likewise the next Morning he told them he had pray'd, that if he was in an Error in the Matter, God would convince him of it; but God had not convinced him, and therefore he believed it was no Error.

About ten in the Morning, *July 15th*, he was led out of the *Tower*; having mounted the Scaffold, and view'd the Executioner, he began with declaring, That he dy'd a Protestant of the Church of *England*. The Divines attending, told him, That he could not be so, if he did not own the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in the Point of *Non-Resistance*, and if he persisted in his former Enthusiastick Persuasion, which they thought

A.D. 1685. necessary in this extraordinary Juncture. He said, he could not help it; yet he approved the Doctrine of the Church in all other Things. He then spoke to the People in Vindication of the Lady *Herriot Wentworth*, declaring, She was a Woman of great Honour and Virtue, a religious godly Lady; Upon which they told him of his living in Adultery with her: He said no; for these two Years last past, he had not liv'd in any Sin that he knew of, and that he had never wrong'd any Person, and that he was sure, when he dy'd, to go to God, and therefore he did not fear Death, which, he said, they might see in his Face. Then they pray'd for him, and he kneel'd down and join'd with them; and in Conclusion, they had a short Prayer for the King, at which he paus'd, but at last said, *Amen*. Rising up, he spoke to the Head's Man to see he did his Business well, and not to use him as he did the Lord *Ruffel*, to give him two or three Strokes; for if he did, he should not be able to lie still without turning. Then he gave the Executioner six Guineas, and four to one *Marshall*, a Servant of Sir *Thomas Armstrong's*, that attended him with the King's Leave, desiring *Marshall* to give them to the Executioner, if he did his Work well, and not otherwise. He had given to this *Marshall* over Night, his Ring and Watch, and now he gave him his Case of Pick-Teeth for the Lady *Herriot*; in which were afterwards found some Scripture Expressions in the Nature of Charms, or Amulets. Then undressing and preparing himself for the Block, the Divines, in the meantime, used these and the like Ejaculations; *God accept your Repentance. God accept your Im-*  
*perfect*

*perfect Repentance. God accept your General Repentance!* Having laid himself down, and the Sign given, the Executioner gave a light Stroke; at which he look'd him in the Face, and then he laid himself down again, when the Executioner gave him two Strokes more, and then threw down his Axe, crying, he could not finish his Work, till being threatned by the Sheriff, and others there present, he took up the Axe again, and at two Strokes more cut off his Head.

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

The Duke was in the thirty-sixth Year of his Age, when he came to this untimely End, a most beautiful and graceful Person, generous and affable, ever courting and insinuating himself into the lesser Class of Men, whereby he became the Idol of the Populace. Never was Man more lov'd, and even ador'd by them: Of which the King and Court were so well appriz'd, that tho' the Militia were commanded by Noblemen and Gentlemen of unquestionable Loyalty, who might easily have suppress'd the Duke at his first Landing, if they could have depended on the Bodies they commanded; it was thought adviseable, not to venture an Engagement without regular Troops, which gave *Monmouth* an Opportunity of assembling 7 or 8,000 Men before he met with any Opposition. After he was dead, the People could not be brought to believe it: They look'd upon him to be invulnerable, and even immortal. Sometimes it was given out that one like him was executed; at others, that it was but a Block or his Effigies that was beheaded, and expected to see him appear again every Day at the Head of a better Army than he had left: And the King look'd upon his Deliverance



*A.D.* 1685 liverance from this formidable Rival to be so considerable, that he caus'd two Medals to be struck upon the Occasion. On the first was the King in Bust crown'd with Lawrel, &c. plac'd upon a large Basis or Altar: On the Front of which are the Arms of England, &c. with the Garter, and over it the Crown;

*1 Jac. 2.*  
Medals  
struck on  
the Victo-  
ry.

*Exurge,*

*Aras & Sceptra tuemur.*

Upon the Altar lie four Scepters, bearing on their Tops the Rose, Lilly, Thistle, and Harp; upon each Side is represented the Sea, with *Neptune* holding the Trident, drawn in a Chariot of Marine Horses; with two Vessels under Sail on the other Side,

Inscription,

*Jacobus 2. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hib.*  
*Rex, 1685.*

Reverse,

Justice (upon whose Head the Sun darts his Beams, and the Lightning issues out of a dark Cloud) with Sword and Ballance, holds in one Scale Mural Crowns, which preponderate the other in which there is a Scimitar, a Protestant Flail (as then call'd) with a Serpent, whilst he tramples on another Serpent near two Headless Bodies, their Heads lying on two Square Blocks on each Side of Justice: On that of the Right Hand,

*Jacobus de Monmouth.*

# JAMES II.

On the Left Hand,

*Archibald d'Argyle.*

271

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

Upon one Side of the Carcasses are represented Soldiers routed, and flying away; on the other, a Castle, with two Heads fixed on Spikes over the Gate; and on the Pedestal,

*Ambitio, male Suada, ruit.*

On the other Medal is the Effigies and Bust of the Duke of *Monmouth*, without any Inscription at all.

The Reverse represents a young Man precipitating from a steep Rock into the Midst of the Sea, upon which are placed three Crowns amongst Brambles and Shrubs.

*Superi risere, July 6, 1685.*

The Lord Grey was taken the Evening before the Duke of *Monmouth*, but found Means to make his Peace with the King, and obtain his Pardon; some say by a Sum of Money advanc'd to one of the Ministry, and others, that he merited it, either by betraying the Duke of *Monmouth*, or making some useful Discoveries. King *James's* Enemies will by no means allow it to be an Act of pure Grace and Mercy, tho' for ought appears there was no other Motive that induced his Majesty to pardon that Nobleman: The Faction have often suggested, that King *James II.* had no such Thing as Pity or Compassion in his Nature (among whom are the impartial Bishop *Burnet*) and bring the Executions

Lord Grey taken, and pardon'd.

K. James charg'd with Cruelty.

AD. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

This  
Charge en-  
quir'd in-  
to.

Executions of the Rebels in the West, as an undeniable Proof of this Assertion; imputing every Thing to the King that was done, either by Colonel *Kirk* and the Soldiers, or by *Jefferies*, and the other Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer sent into the West for the Trial of the Prisoners.

Col. *Kirk*, 'tis said, pursuing Part of the Rebels into *Taunton*, who fled thither after the Battle of *Sedgemoor*, order'd 19 of them to be hang'd; from whence it is inferr'd, that King *James* was very cruel, though it was impossible he could know any Thing of the Matter, till long after it was done, *Taunton* being 120 Miles from *London*, where the King was at that Time. But to enquire a little into the Barbarity of this Act, Is it against the Rules of War to take away the Life of a Rebel or Enemy, who is a Prisoner at Discretion, and taken in the Enemy's Head-Quarters; and, at this Case was probably, endeavouring to defend the Town against the King's victorious Troops. Did not *Cromwell* when he took *Drogheda*, after the Garrison threw down their Arms, and begg'd for Quarter, cut the Throats of three thousand *English*, and murder all the defenceless Natives in the Place, Men, Women, and Children? Had the King's Generals served *Taunton* in this Manner as a Terror to the rest of the Rebels, there might have been some Colour for their Outcries of Cruelty; at least, a great deal more than for executing nineteen Soldiers, who had just before fled out of the Battle, and who were so far from shewing any Remorse for their Treason and Rebellion, that some of them declar'd, *If it was to do again they would engage in the same Cause* other

A.D. 1685.

1 Fac. 2.

Others would not acknowledge their Rebellion, though *Kirk* offer'd them their Lives upon that Condition; nay, 'tis related, that *Kirk* order'd one Person to be cut down twice or three Times, and after each offer'd him his Life, if he would only acknowledge that *he had done amiss*; but he refus'd, and chose to be hang'd outright. But to proceed, if *Kirk* was such a Monster of Cruelty, for executing so small a Number of Rebels taken in Arms, how comes *Cromwell's* Cruelty never to be censur'd by the Faction, who murdered his thousands and ten thousands in cold Blood?

Again, did not *Fairfax*, the Parliament's General, cause Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, two very great and good Men, to say no more of them, to be shot before the Walls of *Colchester* after they had surrender'd, by his sole Authority, only for defending that Town for their Sovereign against the Forces of the Rump? And if this was agreeable to the Rules of War, why was *Kirk* to be censur'd any more than *Fairfax* or *Cromwell*?

The Rebels in the late Reign guilty of much greater Cruelties.

But some pretend to give a farther Instance of *Kirk's* cruel and brutish Temper. They tell us, that when a young Woman came to beg her Brother's Life, he promised it on Condition she would let him lye with her; which when she had consented to with much Reluctance, he hang'd her Brother on the Sign Post of the same House before her Face, and laugh'd at her Credulity. But this Story has not only no Proof to support it, but it is told so many different Ways, as renders it exceeding suspicious: Some affirm, That it was a Daughter that petition'd for her Father; and others, that a Wife begg'd the Life of her Husband on these Terms; but

*Kirk* charged without Proof,



A.D. 1685. give us neither the Names nor Dwellings of any of the Parties: And after all, if this *Kirk* was such a Brute of a Man, it is strange, that the pious King *William* was so far from calling him to an Account at the Revolution, that he rely'd upon him as much as on any *English* Officer he had; and particularly employ'd him in relieving the important Town of *London-Derry*, and raising the Siege of that Place. But to return.

L. Delamere, Lord Brandon, Gerard, and others, apprehended.

The Lord *Delamere* being suspected as a Favourer of the Rebels, a Proclamation was issued on the 19th of *July*, commanding him to surrender himself: And on the 26th of the same Month, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon*, *Gerard*, and the Lord *Delamere*, were committed to the *Tower*: And another Proclamation issued, commanding *George Speke*, *Francis Charlton*, and *John Wildman*, Esqs; Colonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard*, Esq; to surrender themselves within twenty Days, being charg'd with High Treason in being among the Rebels, or Aiding and Assisting of them: And the 26th of *July*, was observ'd as a Thanksgiving for the Success of the King's Forces in the West; on which, one from the *French* King congratulated his Majesty the beginning of the next Month.

A Thanksgiving for the Victory of Sedgemoor.

*Jefferies* and other Judges sent to try the Rebels in the West.

And now the Court thinking fit to make some Examples of those who had been taken in Rebellion, or were guilty of encouraging or assisting the Rebels: A Commission of Oyer and Terminer was granted to the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies*, ——— *Polexsen*, and three other Commissioners, who were sent into the West the latter End of *August*, Colonel *Kirk* being order'd to protect them against

against the Insolence of the People with a Detachment of the Army. A.D. 1685

The Judges opening their Commission at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, *Alice Lisle*, the Widow of *John Lisle*, one of the Regicides, who was President also of the High Court of Justice that condemned Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, was brought before them, and charged with Harbouring *John Hicks*, a Non-Conformist Minister, and *Nelthorp*, who had been in the Rebels Army at the Battle of *Sedgemore*; and she was condemned upon full Evidence, if we may credit the printed Trial, to which I refer the Reader; however, the Sentence was reversed at the Revolution. But our Historians have aggravated this Matter extremely, pretending Mrs. *Lisle* was ignorant whom she harboured, and had great Injustice done her; whereas it appears, that she was the great Patroness and Protector of the Rebels; that she contrived to have those Men brought to her House privately, supped with them in a Chamber, where they discoursed of what had happened in the Battle, and actually denied them when Colonel *Penruddock* came to search her House: Nor were the Jury ever turned back, as is pretended; though 'tis true they came into Court after they had withdrawn, to be satisfied in two Points; one was, Whether it was Treason to receive a Rebel before he was convicted of Treason; to which the Court answered, It was: Then they said, They were in some Doubt, whether *Hicks* had been in the Army; to which *Jefferies* answered, Mrs. *Lisle's* ordering them to come in the Night, was a strong Presumption of it; but their talking of the Battle at Supper, left them no

1 Jac. 2.

Mrs. Lisle's Trial.

A.D. 1685. Room to doubt of it: Whereupon the Jury, without withdrawing again, gave their Verdict, That she was *Guilty*: And this Jury consisted of Gentlemen of as good Quality and Credit as any in the Country. Indeed the Court did observe, that the Prisoner's Husband was a Regicide, and President of a High Court of Justice, that had taken away the Lives of several loyal Noblemen, and had condemned the Father of this very Colonel *Pennraddock*, who seized Mrs. *Lisle*, and was a Witness against her at this Trial: But it is not to be supposed that the Jury, who were Gentlemen of Quality, should have any Regard to her Husband's Crimes in the Verdict against her, whatever Dr. *Burnet*, and other Advocates for Rebellion, may insinuate: And, however the whole Load of Mrs. *Lisle*'s Condemnation comes to be laid on *Jefferies*, it appears that *Polexfen* and the rest of the Judges in the Commission were unanimous in their Opinions of her Guilt: And what takes off a great deal of the Odium from the Judges is, that they gave her Time to send to *London*, and sollicite her Pardon; and when that could not be obtained, gave her an Opportunity of getting her Sentence changed from Burning to Beheading. But it is further observed, That as Mrs. *Lisle* was very old and deaf, it would have redounded to the King's Honour to have spared her; she could have done him very little Harm, if he had suffered her to live; and those who suggest this may be very much in the right: But as for the Cruelty of the Matter, it may be as cruel to execute a young Woman as an old one; and as she was the great Encourager and Supporter of the Disaffected in that Part of the Country, I presume

i Jac. II.  
She is convicted.

All the Judges agree in the Justice of her Sentence.

presume the King consented to her Execution A.D. 1685.  
 in order to terrify others from harbouring and  
 supporting his Enemies, rather than out of 1 Jac. II.  
 any Pique to the Person of this old Lady.  
 But to proceed. The Prisoner and several  
 more having been condemned at *Winchester*,  
 the Commissioners went from thence to *Dor-*  
*chester*, *Exeter*, *Taunton*, and *Wells*; in all  
 which Places seven or eight hundred were  
 convicted, of whom about two hundred were About 200  
 executed. executed. Indeed *Burnet* pretends six hun- *Burnet*  
 dred were executed; but three for one is an makes 600  
 ordinary Stretch with that correct Writer: of them.  
 And in this Particular even his Disciples, the  
 Continuers of *Rapin*, have given him up;  
 though they tell us, that it was the Covetous-  
 ness of the Chief Justice that saved many of  
 the Prisoners: But why *Polexfen* and the rest How come  
 of the Commissioners, who concurred with *Jefferies*  
*Jefferies* are not equally censured, is a little and *Kirk*  
 difficult to conceive; unless it be that *Polex-* to bear the  
*fen* was afterwards one of King *William's* Odium of  
 Judges, and the rest of them deemed no En- all these  
 mies to the Revolution. The Lord *Churchill*, Execu-  
 (afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*) though the tions?  
 most active of all the Officers in suppressing  
 the Western Rebellion, appears also to be so  
 much in Favour with the Faction, that he has  
 not incurred the least Censure on that Ac-  
 count; while poor Colonel *Kirk*, his inferiour  
 Officer, is loaded with Infamy, and innume-  
 rable Stories raised of his Cruelty; particu-  
 larly, That when thirty Men, who had been  
 condemned by *Jefferies* and his Associates,  
 were to be hanged at *Taunton*, he sat at a  
 Tavern to see the Execution, and ordered  
 them to be turned off by half Scores, drink-  
 ing the King's Health at the first Execution,  
 the



*A.D.* 1685 the Queen's at the second, and that of Judge *Jefferies* at the third: Though 'tis certain that the Sheriff, and not *Kirk*, had the Direction of these Civil Executions; and therefore it is not easy to conceive how *Kirk* comes to be censured for them: It is very probable, indeed, that the Colonel was at *Taunton* at these Executions, and that he and his Officers were drinking at a Tavern there; but for the rest, it is an Improvement so natural to the Whigs, that we need not go far to search for the Fathers of it.

Neither *Kirk* nor the Judges that condemned the Rebels ever called to an Account, but preferred at the Revolution.

A great deal more Cruelty exercised during the Usurpation of *Cromwel* and the Fanaticks.

It may be objected further, That if the Barbarities of *Kirk*, of *Jefferies*, and his Associates on the Bench, were such as the Saints represent them, it is strange that the Parliament which sat the following Winter, neither Lords nor Commons, should take any other Notice of those Executions, than to declare the Necessity of them; nay, that *Kirk*, and some of the Commissioners who sat as Judges in the West with *Jefferies*, should be preferred at the Revolution by King *William*. Let me add, That there may be many Instances given, during the Tyranny of *Cromwel* and the Saints, of much greater Cruelties, and more unjustifiable Proceedings, than those in the West; Multitudes of Men having been put to death during their Usurpation without any Trial, and others, by pretended High Courts of Justice unknown to our Constitution, without having had so much as the Benefit of Trials by Juries: Nor does there want Instances of as numerous Executions as those at the Western Assizes, in the Reigns of some of our Kings; for which, however, their Administration has not been censured, though the Godly complain so much of *Jefferies*; who did not

not exceed his Commission probably, because he was made Lord Chancellor on the 28th of September (upon the Death of the Lord Keeper *North*) being soon after his Return from the West. If there were any rigorous Proceedings after that Rebellion therefore, they ought rather to be ascribed to the Instructions the Court gave, than to the Severity of the Judges. But this must be said in behalf of that Administration, That in the first Insurrection in *Scotland* they were exceeding merciful, scarce any of the Rebels who were taken in Arms with *Argyle* being put to death there (by the concurrent Testimony of all Writers) And it was not till this second Insurrection, when the Court looked upon their All to be at Stake, that they fell upon these rigorous Proceedings; and they might apprehend them necessary to prevent future Insurrections, as other Princes have done, whose Names we reverence, notwithstanding they have been guided by the like Politicks.

And as the Court was very well apprized, that there were a great many in the City of *London* who wished well to the late Rebellion, and would have joined in it if they had met with an Opportunity, several Citizens were apprehended and committed to Prison, some for their having a Share in *Shaftsbury's* or the *Rye-House* Plot in the late Reign, and others for being concerned in this Rebellion of *Monmouth's*: Among the former was Alderman *Cornish*, who had been Sheriff with *Bethel*, and encouraged the Tumults and Riots in the late Reign; and under whose Sherivalty the *Ignoramus* Juries were packed that brought off that Incendiary *Shaftsbury* and his Friends.

Good-

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

*Jefferies*  
made Lord  
Chancellor.

Very few  
Executions  
on suppressing the  
Rebellion  
in *Scotland*.

Several of  
the Rebels  
Friends at  
*London*  
committed  
to Prison.

*A.D. 1685.* *Goodenough*, the Alderman's Under-Sheriff, being taken in the Rebellion, offered, it seems, to appear as a Witness against his Master to save his own Life: This Man deposed, That he had some Discourse with Alderman *Cornish* about Surprizing the *Tower*; and that the Alderman said thereupon, *I will do what Good I can*, or, *what I can*: But this Evidence would not have been much regarded, *Goodenough* being a Person whom Alderman *Cornish* never had much Confidence in, and who swore this to save his own Life, if Colonel *Romsey* had not come in and made Oath, That Alderman *Cornish* was at Mr. *Sheppard's* House with the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, *Armstrong*, *Ferguson*, &c. when a Declaration for an Insurrection was read, and that he approved of it: Nor would the Jury have convicted him on this, 'tis supposed, if his being at Mr. *Sheppard's* House with the Conspirators had not been proved also by Mr. *Sheppard* himself, who was the Prisoner's Friend, and called as a Witness for him: For though *Sheppard* swore the Declaration was not read to the Prisoner, yet the Alderman having laid the whole Strefs of his Defence on *his not being at the Consult*, and this being proved against him by his own Witness, the Jury could scarce avoid finding him guilty, what Hardships soever his Friends may pretend he had: And I believe in the present mild Reign, if it should be proved by two unexceptionable Witnesses, that a Man was at a treasonable Consult, and one of them should make Oath, that he heard a treasonable Declaration read there, and approved of it, he would have very good Fortune if he escaped the Halter: But whatever may be thought

*1 Jac. II.*  
*Cornish's*  
*Trial.*

thought of the Justice of this Proceeding, certain it is, the Alderman was convicted, and condemned as a Traitor, on this Evidence, and executed as such in *Cheapside* on the 23d of *October* following.

About the same time *William Ring* was condemned and executed for High-Treason, in Harboursing *Joseph Kelloway* and *Henry Lawrence*, who had served in the Rebels Army: *John Fernly* was convicted of Harboursing *James Burton*, who had been outlawed for High-Treason; and *Elizabeth Gaunt* of furnishing the said *Burton* with Money, and assisting him and other Rebels in making their Escape beyond Sea; for which the first was hanged and quartered, and the other burnt at *Tyburn*.

Mr. *Richard Nelthorpe*, who had been in the Rebels Army, and was apprehended in the House of Mrs. *Lisle*, already mentioned, having been outlawed for High-Treason, was executed before *Gray's-Inn Gate* in *Holborn* on the 30th of *October*; as was Mr. *John Ayloff* (taken in the Rebellion in *Scotland*) before the *Temple Gate* in *Fleetstreet* the same Day. But among these Executions there were some Acts of Grace and Mercy shewn; particularly the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, who was convicted of High-Treason, in conspiring the Destruction of the late King, at the *King's-Bench Bar*, and condemned to die, was pardoned; as was *John Hampden Esq*; though he acknowledged himself guilty of the same Offence in open Court.

In the mean time the Parliament assembling on the ninth of *November*, the Day they stood prorogued to, the King made a Speech to both Houses; wherein having thanked God for his Success in Suppressing the late Rebellion, he said, He could not but reflect what

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac II.

He is condemned and executed.

*Ring* and *Gaunt* condemned and executed for harbouring and assisting the Rebels.

*Nelthorpe* and *Ayloff* executed.

*L. Brandon Gerrard* and *Hampden* pardoned.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.



A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

He tells  
them he  
had en-  
creased his  
Forces,

and em-  
ployed Po-  
pish Offi-  
cers.

an inconsiderable Number of Men began it, and how long they carried it on without Opposition; and hoped they would be convinced, that the Militia was not sufficient for such Occasions; and that nothing but a good Force of well-disciplined Troops could defend them: And therefore his Concern for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of his Government, had induced him to increase their Number (to 14 or 15,000 Men) That by keeping such a Body on foot, none might ever have a Thought of finding them again so miserably unprovided; and for the Support of this great Charge, which would be now more than double what it was, he asked a proportionable Supply.

He desired no Man would take Exception, that some Officers of the Army had not taken the Tests: They were most of them known to him (he said) and had served him faithfully: And he would deal plainly with them, that after having had the Benefit of their Services in such a Time of Need and Danger, he would neither expose them to Disgrace, nor himself to the Want of them.

There were some Debates in the House of Lords, Whether they should return the King Thanks for this Speech, till they had considered some Expressions in it: However, an Address of Thanks was at length carried up without examining the Particulars. But it was otherwise in the House of Commons; for when the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State, moved, That they should immediately return his Majesty Thanks for his Speech from the Throne, the Lord *Castleton* and several of the Members shewed their Dislike of it; and thereupon the Debate was adjourned to the

12th of *November*; when the Earl of *Mid-*<sup>A.D. 1685.</sup>  
*dleton* made the same Motion again; adding, <sup>1 Jac. 2.</sup>  
 That the Militia could not be depended upon, <sup>Debates</sup>  
 while both *France* and *Holland* had such nume- <sup>about keep-</sup>  
 rous Forces on foot; and therefore it was <sup>ing up a</sup>  
 absolutely necessary they should assent to his <sup>Standing</sup>  
 Majesty's encreasing his Forces in Proportion, <sup>Army.</sup>  
 and give him a Supply answerable to his  
 Wants: That there was still a bitter Spirit in  
 the Nation, the Principles of the Rebel Party  
 being, *Never to repent*: That an Island might  
 be invaded, notwithstanding they had a Fleet;  
 and therefore urged again, That a Standing  
 Force was necessary.

To which it was answered, That the Mili-  
 tia was not so contemptible a Force as was  
 represented: That they had done great things  
 in the late Civil Wars, and had now prevent-  
 ed *Monmouth's* possessing himself of *Bristol* and  
*Exeter*; and that if the Militia were not equal  
 to other Troops, they might be made so: And  
 it was proposed to bring in a Bill for making  
 the Militia more useful; for if they were well <sup>A Bill pro-</sup>  
 modelled, and commanded by Gentlemen of <sup>posed to</sup>  
 Estates and Interest in their Country, both <sup>make the</sup>  
 the King and People would be secure: There <sup>Militia</sup>  
 was no better Security for a Man's Loyalty, <sup>more use-</sup>  
 or for his exerting himself in Defence of his <sup>ful.</sup>  
 Country, than a good Estate: On the con- <sup>The Dan-</sup>  
 trary, the keeping up a Standing Army, was <sup>ger of a</sup>  
 the maintaining so many idle Fellows to do- <sup>Standing</sup>  
 mineer and give Law to their Fellow-Subjects, <sup>Army.</sup>  
 who debauched the Manners of the People,  
 and from whom their Wives and Daughters  
 were not secure: That if they established a  
 Standing Army, it would be no more in their  
 Power to disband them: As Money could raise  
 an Army, so an Army could raise Money:

A.D. 1685

1 Jac. 2.

A Supply  
voted.They de-  
clare against  
suspending  
the Penal  
Laws and  
Test.Address  
against his  
Majesty's  
employing  
Popish Of-  
ficers.

The Parliament would be rendered useleſs, and the People become ſubject to a Body of Mercenaries, the Civil to the Military Powers: There had not wanted Inſtances of Armies turning Parliaments out of Doors that created and eſtabliſhed them: The Militia were the only Forces known to the Conſtitution, and wanted nothing but new modelling to make them as uſeful and formidable to their Enemies as ever: That they had rather pay double therefore to the Militia, from whom they feared nothing, than to a Body of Men that muſt be a perpetual Terror to them; and that five or ſix thouſand Soldiers had been thought ſufficient for the Support of the Government in the late Reign, when the *French* and *Dutch* were no leſs powerful than they were at preſent. However, when the Supply came to be voted, they agreed to give his Maſteſty 700,000*l.* inſtead of 1,200,000, which the Miniſtry demanded. But as to the King's diſpenſing with the Teſt, and retaining Popiſh Officers, they unanimouſly declared againſt it. They ſaid, that this was diſpenſing with all the Laws at once; that in the Debates in the Bill of Excluſion it had been urged, That if we had a Popiſh Prince we ſhould have a Popiſh Army; which was now about to be verified: It was remembered alſo that the Lord Chancellor told them when the Teſt-Act paſſed, *They had provided againſt Popery, for no Papiſt could now poſſibly creep into Employment*; and yet they ſaw that Law already rendered ineffectual: That their All was ſtruck at; and they wondered that any Men dare take Commiſſions, without being qualified for them. They preſented an Addreſs therefore to his Maſteſty, wherein they offered to indemnify the Recuſant Officers by Act

of Parliament for what was passed; but desired he would not continue any Recusants in Office for the future; or to that Effect.

A.D. 1685.

1 Jac. 2.

To which his Majesty answered, That he did not expect such an Address from the House of Commons; That he had warned them of Fears and Jealousies, and had Reason to hope the Reputation God had blessed him with in the World would have confirmed their Confidence in him; but, however they proceeded on their Part, he would be steady to all the Promises he had made them.

His Majesty  
displeased  
with it.

This Answer being read in the House, a long Silence followed; but at length a Member moved, That a Day might be appointed to consider of the Answer; which was seconded by Mr. Coke, who added, *He hoped they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of their Duty by a few hard Words*: For which they thought fit to send Mr. Coke to the Tower, the Courtiers representing the Words as a Reflexion on his Majesty, and tending to create a Misunderstanding between him and the Commons: However, they shewed no manner of Disposition to acquiesce in his Majesty's dispensing Power, which gave him great Uneasiness.

The Commons,  
however,  
remain  
steady.

The Lords also thought their Privileges invaded, by the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere's* being committed to the Tower ever since *July* last, and neither brought to their Trials, nor admitted to Bail, or suffered to attend the Parliament; and the Earl of *Stamford*, upon his Petition, being brought before the House, the Lords ordered his Trial to be on the first of *December*; the Lords with the White Sticks being ordered to desire his Majesty, that a Place might be erected in *Westminster*-

The Lords  
complain  
their Privileges  
were invaded.

The Earl  
of *Stamford's* Trial  
ordered.



A.D. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$  *minster-Hall* for the Trial; with which, his Majesty answered, he would comply; but being out of Temper with both Houses, notwithstanding the Commons were actually settling a Fund for raising the 700,000 *l.* they had voted, he prorogued the Parliament on the 20th of *November* to the 10th of *February*. Some few Alterations were made a little after in the Ministry; the Earl of *Sunderland*, Principal Secretary of State, was made President of the Council; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy Seal, being constituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Privy Seal was put in Commission during his Absence. And on the eighth of *January* the Parliament was further prorogued to the 10th of *May*; and so from time to time for about two Years, being never suffered to meet again.

The Parliament  
prorogued.

*Sunderland*  
President  
of the  
Council,  
*Clarendon*  
Lord Lieu-  
tenant of  
*Ireland*.

Lord De-  
lamere's  
Trial.

He is ac-  
quitted.

Earl of  
*Stamford*  
pardoned.

And now the King thought fit to constitute a High Steward for the Trial of the Lord *Delamere* on the 14th of *February*, an Indictment of High-Treason having been found against his Lordship by the Grand Jury of *Cheshire*, for Conspiring the Death of his present Majesty; and to that end consulting with *Charles Gerrard Esq;* and other Traitors, to raise Money and Men to make a Rebellion to seize the City and Castle of *Chester*, &c. And one *Saxon* made Oath of a Correspondence held between the Lord *Delamere* and the Duke of *Monmouth*: But *Saxon* being the only positive Witness against the Prisoner, and his Evidence disproved in some Particulars, the Lord *Delamere* was acquitted. As to the Earl of *Stamford*, who had been imprisoned several Months as an Accomplice in the same Treason, he was admitted to Bail the 17th of *February*; and the King publishing a General Pardon

Pardon the 10th of *March*, the Earl took the Benefit of it. A.D. 1686.

The Parliament of *Scotland* assembling on the 29th of *April*, 1686, his Majesty, as usual, sent them a Letter, wherein he recommended to them the Repealing or Mitigating the Laws against his loyal and innocent Catholick Subjects; and to induce them to comply with his Majesty's Desire, the Earl of *Murray*, the High Commissioner, let them know, that his Majesty designed to open a free Trade between that Kingdom and *England*, to improve their Trade with *France* and the *Netherlands*, to prohibit the Importation of *Irish* Cattle and Provisions; and promised they should have a Mint allowed them for Coinage, the want of which had been very prejudicial to their Traffick; and told them, That the King would demand no Supplies of them this Session, but on the contrary, to make all his Subjects easy, he would grant a General Free Pardon: In return for all which, his Majesty only desired they would grant some Indulgence to the loyal *Roman-Catholicks* of that Kingdom.

A Committee being appointed to consider of the Letter and Speech, it was thought proper to allow the Papists the Exercise of their Religion in private, but not to repeal the Acts that had been made against their exercising it publicly: However, the House did not appear enclined to agree with the Committee in this; on the contrary, very severe Speeches were made against the tolerating Popery: Whereupon it was thought fit to prorogue the Parliament.

In *Ireland*, however, the King appeared to have great Hopes, not only of seeing his Religion

2 Fac. 2.

The King proposes to indulge the Papists in *Scotland*.

To which the Parliament being averse, are prorogued.

Attempts to establish Popery in *Ireland*.

A.D. 1686

27ac. 2.

*Talbot*  
made Lieu-  
tenant-Ge-  
neral of the  
Forces in  
*Ireland*;  
to be a  
Check up-  
on *Claren-*  
*don*.

He is made  
Earl of  
*Tyrconnel*,  
and Lord  
Lieutenant  
of *Ireland*.

gion tolerated, but even established; and having found the Duke of *Ormond*, the late Lord Lieutenant, firmly attached to the Protestant Interest, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the King's Brother-in-Law, had been made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom in his room, who would, it was presumed, have complied with his Majesty's Pleasure in every Alteration he should make there. It had been proposed to make Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a zealous Roman-Catholic, Lieutenant of *Ireland* soon after his Majesty's Accession; but it was objected, That this would too much alarm the Protestants in the three Kingdoms: Whereupon the Lord *Clarendon*, as has been related, was ordered to succeed the Duke of *Ormond*; but, for the Encouragement of the Catholics, Colonel *Talbot* was made Lieutenant-General of the Forces there: And when it was found that the Earl of *Clarendon* espoused the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom no less than his Predecessor the Duke of *Ormond*, the Administration was in a manner taken from him even while he enjoyed the Honour of being called Lord Lieutenant. *Talbot* disposed of all Offices and Places almost, and perfectly new modelled the Army, disbanding most of the Protestant Officers and Soldiers, and introducing Papists in their Places. And now the King having subdued his Enemies in *England* and *Scotland*, provided himself with a good Army and a full Treasury in *England*, and another Army devoted to him in *Ireland*; he did not think it necessary to keep on the Mask any longer; but having made *Talbot* Earl of *Tyrconnel*, he constituted him Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, recalling the Lord *Clarendon*, and depriving him of the Office of  
 Lor

A.D. 1686.

2 Jac. 2.

A Proclamation to quiet the People's Minds.

The King closets his Judges and the Members of Parliament.

The Judges turned out for declaring against the dispensing Power,

and others made.

A Popish Judge made.

Lord Privy-Seal, as well as of that Government; which gave the Protestants in *Ireland* such terrible Apprehensions, that great Numbers of them left the Kingdom, and came over to *England*: Whereupon the new Lord Deputy published a Proclamation, wherein he takes notice of some Reports that had been spread to his own and his Majesty's Disadvantage; and assures the People, they would be protected in their Liberties and Properties, whatever Persuasion or Religion they were of.

The King acted with more Caution in *England*; he founded his Judges and the Members of Parliament, how far he might depend on their Concurrence in introducing or tolerating Popery here, sending for them, and reasoning the thing with them separately and alone; which Applications obtained the Name of Closettings: He began with the Judges; of whom Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, *William Montague Esq*; Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Job Charlton*, one of the Justices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, too freely declaring their Opinions, That the King could not dispense with the Laws in Favour of the Papists and Dissenters, they were turned out, and more complying Lawyers put in their Places; particularly, Sir *Henry Bedingfield* was made Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Edward Atkins* Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Edward Lutwich* was made a Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, and Serjeant *Rich. Heath* a Baron of the *Exchequer*: Some few Days after, *Christopher Milton Esq*; a Roman-Catholick, was made a Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *John Powell*, a Judge of the *Common-Pleas*,



A.D. 1686. and *Richard Allibone* Esq; another Papist, was not long afterwards made a Judge of the King's-Bench: Some Popish Noblemen also were called to the Council-Table; viz. the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and the Lord *Dover*; as was also the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, Deputy of *Ireland*, not long after.

The Judges in *Sir Edw. Hale's Case* declare the King had a dispensing Power. And now the King having new modelled his Council, and his Bench of Judges, a Cause was brought into *Westminster Hall*, the Decision whereof contributed very much to his Majesty's Resolution of dispensing with the Laws whenever he saw fit: *Mr. Godden* brought an Action against *Sir Edward Hales*, for exercising the Office of Governour of *Dover-Castle*, not having qualified himself by Law, by taking the Test, &c. To which *Sir Edw.* having pleaded the King's Dispensation, the Jury brought in a Special Verdict; and the Matter of Law was referred to the twelve Judges, who came to the following Resolutions (except *Mr. Justice Street*, who dissented from the rest).

“ 1. That the King is an Independent Prince.

“ 2. That the Laws are the King's Laws.

“ 3. That the King hath a Power to dispense with the Penal Laws, if Necessity require it.

“ 4. That the King is Judge of that Necessity. And,

“ Lastly, That this is not a Trust granted to the King, but the Remains of the ancient Sovereign Power of the Kings of *England*.

Upon which Resolutions the King took such Measures as he thought most conducive to

to the Advancement of Popery; and as he had now the Opinion of the Bench of Judges, That he might dispense with what Laws he pleased, he permitted the Papists the free and open Exercise of their Religion; suffered Schools and Seminaries of Jesuits to be erected in and about *London*, notwithstanding the Laws made it High-Treason to set up such Schools, or to endeavour to reconcile any one to the Popish Religion, or to be so reconciled: Four Popish Bishops also were consecrated in the Royal Chapel, and sent into several Parts of *England*, to exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction over those of that Communion; and their Pastoral Letters, and Letters directed to the Lay-Catholicks, were printed by the King's Printer, and dispersed all over the Country: Monks and Fryars also appeared every where in their proper Habits; and to stop the Mouths of the Protestant Divines that they might not preach against Popery, a Letter was directed by his Majesty to all his Protestant Bishops, requiring them to prohibit the inferiour Clergy to meddle with the controverted Points in Religion: Notwithstanding which, the Divines of the Church of *England* never exerted themselves more in preaching and writing in the Defence of the Doctrines of their Church; while the Dissenters of every Denomination remained silent, or rather flattered and encouraged the unfortunate King in his Projects of dispensing with the Laws, and breaking down those Fences and Boundaries which had hitherto so happily defended and protected the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties and Properties of the People.

To bring the Church of *England* therefore under the absolute Dominion of the Court,

A D. 1686

2 Jac. 2.

Papists allowed the open Exercise of their Religion.

Popish Schools.

Popish Bishops.

Monks and Fryars swarm.

Preaching against Popery prohibited.

The Clergy make a brave Opposition to Popery.

A.D. 1686

2 Jac. 2.

A High-  
Commis-  
sion Court  
erected to  
deprefs the  
Clergy.

and pave the Way for a Change of Religion, a kind of High-Commission Court was erected, entitled, *A Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, President of the Council, the Bishops of *Rochefter* and *Durham*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, were appointed Commissioners: But of theſe the Archbishop reſuſed to act from the Beginning, and ſome others afterwards; whoſe Places were ſupplied with Men more ready to follow the Dictates of their Superiors.

The Tenor of this  
Commif-  
ſion:

Their Commiſſion empowered them, or any three of them, of whom the Lord Chancellor to be one, to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to viſit, reform, correct, amend, and puniſh all Offences whatever againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, by Suſpenſion, Deprivation, Cenfures of the Church, &c. The Commiſſioners (or any five of them, of whom the Lord Chancellor was to be one) were alſo authorized to viſit the Universities, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, Grammar Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Corporations; to examine their Statutes, Rules, Ordinances, Letters-Patents, and Writings, and the ſame to alter, correct, and amend, at their Pleaſure. *So that the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, and all that had any Relation to it, were made ſubject to the arbitrary Determinations of theſe Commiſſioners.*

Held to be  
illegal.

This Commiſſion was generally held to be illegal, the High-Commission Court being aboliſhed by 17 Car. 1; whereby it was alſo enacted, That no Court ſhould be erected with the like Power or Juriſdiction for the future

future. But it being suggested by the Enemies of the Church, That the 17th of *Car. 1.* had taken away all manner of Jurisdiction from the Bishops and other Ordinaries; another Act was made in the 13th of *Car. 2.* which declared, That the ordinary Power of Archbishops, Bishops, and inferiour Ecclesiastical Courts, was not taken away by the 17th of *Car. 1.* or any other Law; but provides, That the Clause in the Statute made in the first of *Eliz.* *For erecting a High-Commission Court, or any other such like Court, should however stand repealed;* and consequently, the Court now erected for the Government of the Ecclesiastical State, armed with the like Authority and Powers as the former High-Commission Court exercised before the 17th of *Charles I.* was an illegal Court.

The King, some little time before the Opening of this Commission, had taken Offence at a Sermon preached by Doctor *Sharp*, Rector of *St. Giles's*, and Dean of *Norwich*; wherein the Doctor inveighed against Popery, and expressed his Apprehensions of its prevailing in the Kingdom: Whereupon his Majesty wrote to *Dr. Compton*, Bishop of *London*, to suspend *Dr. Sharp* from preaching in any Church in his Diocese, till he had given him Satisfaction, and his further Pleasure was known.

*Dr. Sharp's*  
Sermon  
gives Of-  
fence.

He is or-  
dered to  
be suspend-  
ed.

The Bishop thereupon wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, Principal Secretary of State (which he desired might be communicated to his Majesty) wherein he represented, That as he was to act as a Judge in this Matter, he was obliged to govern himself by the Rules of Law, and to cite the Party, and hear what he had to say, before he could suspend him:

The Bishop  
of *London*  
excuses his  
suspending  
him.

How-



*AD.*1686 However, he had acquainted Dr. *Sharp* with his Majesty's Displeasure, and finding him ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction, had made him the Bearer of that Letter.

*2 Jac. 2.*

Dr. *Sharp* also drew up a Petition to the King, which he carried to *Windsor* at the same time; wherein he sets forth, That since he had received Notice of his Majesty's Displeasure, he had forbore to exercise his Function; That he had always endeavoured to serve his Majesty and the late King in his Function, and had never uttered any thing in the Pulpit tending to Faction or Schism; and therefore prayed to be restored to his Majesty's Favour.

No Notice however was taken, either of the Bishop's Letter, or the Doctor's Petition, till the Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs was opened in the Beginning of *August*; when the Bishop was cited to appear before the Commissioners on the fourth of that Month, to shew Cause why he had not suspended Dr. *Sharp*, in pursuance of his Majesty's Orders. The Bishop appearing at the Day appointed, desired he might have a Copy of their Commission, or at least might hear it read; which being refused, he moved for Time to put in his Answer; and was allowed till the ninth instant: When the Bishop appearing again, attended by his Nephew the Earl of *Northampton*, and several other Persons of Distinction, he let the Commissioners know, that he had not been able to procure a Copy of their Commission till the last Night: To which *Jefferies* answered, They would admit of no quarrelling with their Commission. The Bishop replied, He had other Reasons to desire a Sight of it; perhaps it might not extend to him,

He is cited to appear before the Commissioners.

him, as a Peer, or reach this particular Case; *A.D. 1686*  
 and therefore insisted on a longer Time to an-  
 swer: Which being obtained, he appeared a  
 third time before the Commissioners; when  
 he represented, that he was advised by his  
 Council, that the Proceedings of the Commis-  
 sioners were directly contrary to Law; and  
 they were ready to make it appear: To which  
*Jefferies* answered, That they would neither  
 hear his Lordship nor his Council to that  
 Point. The Prelate replied, He was a Bishop  
 of the Church of *England*; and by the Laws  
 of the Christian Church in all Ages, and by  
 the particular Laws of the Land, he was to be  
 tried by his Metropolitan and Suffragans; and  
 hoped they would not deny him the Privileges  
 of a Christian Bishop.

The Bishop  
 objects to  
 their Juris-  
 diction.

The Court answered, They had an original  
 Jurisdiction; and this was still questioning  
 their Commission. Whereupon the Bishop  
 gave in his Answer, which was to this Effect;  
*viz.* That what he had done was by the Ad-  
 vice of Council; and therefore ought not to  
 be interpreted to be done maliciously, or ob-  
 stinately; That where the King required a  
 Judge to execute a Command not agreeable to  
 Law, it was his Duty *rescribere & reclamare*  
*Principi*; which he had done: That he had  
 also, in effect, done what the King command-  
 ed; for he had advised *Dr. Sharp* to forbear  
 preaching in his Diocese; and he had forborn  
 accordingly. After which the Bishop's Coun-  
 cil were heard; *viz.* *Dr. Oldish*, *Dr. Price*,  
*Dr. Hedges*, and *Dr. Newton*; who insisted  
 chiefly, That Suspension being a Judicial Act,  
 to which a Citation and other Forms were ne-  
 cessary, the Bishop could not suspend the Doc-  
 tor without observing them; and that to act  
 other-

His Ans-  
 wer.

His Coun-  
 cil heard.

A.D. 1686

2 Jac. 2.

The Bishop  
suspended.The Forces  
encamped  
at *Houn-*  
*slow*, to  
keep the  
People in  
Awe.A Popish  
Chapel  
there.

otherwise was contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, and of all Nations; and that the Bishop had shewed his Obedience in writing to the King, and representing the Case justly to his Majesty. But all the Arguments of the learned Civilians in behalf of their Client would not avail him; the Bishop was ordered to appear before the Commissioners six Days afterwards, and hear his Sentence: When they pronounced him suspended from all Episcopal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction during his Majesty's Pleasure. Dr. *Sharp* was also suspended for some time; but soon after suffered to preach, and exercise his Ecclesiastical Function again.

As the King could not be insensible that these Proceedings must give great Disgust to his Protestant Subjects, he mustered the greatest Part of his Forces this Summer, and ordered them to encamp upon *Hounslow-Heath*, between his Palace of *Windfor* and *London*, to the Number of fifteen thousand Men: Here his Majesty had a Pavilion erected, and a Popish Chapel, and spent some Part of the Summer in the Camp; the People coming in Crowds from *London*, either to see the Camp or the Court, with the numerous Trains of Popish Priests and Fryars who resorted to it, and exercised their Functions, endeavouring to make Converts as freely and openly as if all the Laws against the *Roman-Catholicks* had been repealed. Various Means, however, were used to prevent the Soldiers and Peoples being infected with *Romish* Superstition; some mimicked and derided all their Fopperies; while others endeavoured, by Dint of Argument and sound Reasoning, to keep them steady in the Principles in which they had been

been educated. But Mr. *Johnson*, who had *A.D. 1686.*  
suffered, and was now a Prisoner, for Libel-  
ling the Government in the late Reign, ven-  
tured again to incense his Superiours, by writ-  
ing, or at least publishing a Paper stiled, *2 Jac. II.*  
*An Address to the English Protestants in King*  
*James's Army*; in which he dissuades them  
from joining with Papists, or being command-  
ed by Popish Officers, who sought to extir-  
pate the Protestant Religion by their Swords:  
He expostulates with them, and demands why  
they would assist in setting up Mass-Houses,  
and training up their Children in Popery;  
whether they would exchange their Birthrights,  
*English* Laws, and Liberties, for Martial and  
Club-Law, and help to destroy others, only  
to be eaten at last themselves. The same  
Considerations he also addresses to the Sea-  
men; telling them, they have been the Bul-  
wark of the Nation against Popery and Sla-  
very ever since that memorable Year 1588;  
and bids them not to be unequally yoked with  
Papists, but *be valiant for the Truth, and shew*  
*themselves Men.* *Johnson* being discovered to  
be the Author or Publisher of this Paper, was  
tried for it in the Court of *King's-Bench*, con-  
victed, and sentenced to stand three times in  
the Pillory, to pay a Fine of five hundred  
Marks, and to be whipped from *Newgate* to  
*Tyburn*: And he was pilloried and whipped  
accordingly; being first degraded by the Bi-  
shops of *Durham*, *Rochester*, and *Peterborough*,  
who were appointed to exercise Episcopal Ju-  
risdiction in the Diocese of *London* during the  
Suspension of that Bishop. But Mr. *Johnson's*  
Friends found Means to make his Whipping  
very favourable.

*Johnson's*  
*Address to*  
*the Army.*

He is pil-  
loried and  
whipped.



A.D. 1686.

2 Jac. II.

*Prance*  
confesses  
himself  
perjured at  
the Trial  
of *Green*,  
*Bury*, and  
*Hill*.

*Miles Prance* was tried about the same time, for wilful and malicious Perjury, in swearing that *Green*, *Bury*, and *Hill* murdered Justice *Godfrey*: To which he pleaded *Guilty*; and declared his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for that Offence. He afterwards made a voluntary Confession in Writing, declaring all the material Parts of his Narrative, Depositions, and Evidence at those Trials to be absolutely false, and the Effects of his Cowardice, having been threatened with Death, and tortured, to make him accuse those innocent Men, who were put to death chiefly upon his Evidence. Which Recantation of *Prance's* is a full Answer to that Question in the Continuers of *Rapin*, *How came it to pass that none of the Witnesses against Green, Bury, and Hill retracted their Evidence in the next Reign, when they might have done it with Impunity, if it had been false?* But notwithstanding *Prance's* Confession, he was sentenced to pay a Fine of an hundred Pounds, to stand in the Pillory, and be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*: However, the Whipping was forgiven, on account of the ingenuous Confession he had made.

*Sunderland*  
turns Pa-  
pist.

The King expecting now that all his Officers and Ministers of State should be of the same Religion he was, the Earl of *Sunderland*, President of the Council, was founded upon that Head; who declared himself to be all Submission, renounced the Protestant Faith privately before certain Priests, and desired to be reconciled to the Catholick Church; but had the Address to persuade his Majesty, that it was not for his Interest that he should yet profess Popery openly; and was permitted therefore to conceal this pretended Change in his Religion. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High

High Treasurer, and the King's Brother-in-Law, was attempted next; who let the King know, that he was so far from being obstinate in his Opinions, that if he would appoint two Protestant Divines and two of the Catholicks to dispute the controverted Points before him, he should readily yield to be of that Persuasion that had the best Arguments to support it: Accordingly Dr. *Simon Patrick* and Dr. *William Jane* were appointed to manage the Dispute in behalf of the Protestants; and *Gifford* and *Tilden* in behalf of the Papists: And such is the Force of Truth, that notwithstanding that great Post of Lord High Treasurer depended on the Earl's declaring himself, the Arguments on the Protestant Side appeared to him so convincing, that he chose to acknowledge himself still a Protestant: The Consequence of which was, his being turned out of the Treasury, as he had all the Reason in the World to expect it would; and the Lords *Bellasis*, *Godolphin*, and *Dover*, with Sir *John Ernby*, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, were constituted Commissioners of the Treasury. But lest the King's Partiality to his own Religion might alienate the Minds of his Subjects from him, in order to mollify the Earl, and silence his Complaints, a Pension of five thousand Pounds *per Ann.* was granted him out of the Post Office. The Earl of *Clarendon*, the King's other Brother-in-Law, had not that Regard shewn him; for he was not only recalled from *Ireland*, but turned out of the Post of Lord Privy-Seal; in which he was succeeded by the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, a zealous *Roman-Catholic*.

A.D. 1686.

2 Jac. II.

*Rochester*  
is not to  
be moved.

He is turn-  
ed out.

The Treas-  
ury in  
Commis-  
sion.

L. *Arundel*  
made Pri-  
vy Seal.

But the most flagrant Breach of the King's Promises to maintain the Protestant Religion,

A.D. 1686.

2 Jac. II.

An Em-  
bassy to  
the See of  
Rome.

was, his Sending the Earl of *Castlemain* to the Pope, on a solemn Embassy, to desire that his Three Kingdoms might be reconciled to the See of *Rome*: Which was laughed at even by his Holiness himself; who well knew that the People of *England* were yet far enough from desiring such a Reconciliation, and that these Steps would be the Ruin of all their Designs for the Conversion of *Britain*: His Temporal Interest also induced him to receive the *English* Ambassador with great Coldness, for the *French* King and the Pope were at Variance at this time; and King *James* being in a strict Alliance with *France*, was deemed rather an Enemy than a Friend to the Holy See: Discovering at length, therefore, that his Ambassador was not at all acceptable at *Rome*, his Majesty thought fit to recal him.

Still the King proceeded in his Endeavours to make his Subjects of the Three Kingdoms good Catholicks; which, it was the Opinion of the Jesuits he consulted, would be most easily effected by a general Toleration: And, as he found the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* extremely averse to gratify him in repealing the Penal Laws, though they had expressed the greatest Readiness to obey him in all other Respects, he determined to grant a Toleration of all Sects by his sole Authority; beginning first with *Scotland*, whither he sent down a Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience; declaring, That he was resolved to unite the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, to God in Religion, to himself in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours in Christian Love and Charity; and therefore had thought fit, by his Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and *Absolute Power*, which all his Sub-

Liberty of  
Conscience  
proclaimed  
in *Scotland*.

jects

*jects were to obey without Reserve*, to grant his Royal Toleration to the several Professors of the Christian Religion therein specified; namely, to the moderate Presbyterians, the Quakers, and Papists; and, by his Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and *Absolute Power*, did suspend all Laws and Acts of Parliament against his *Roman-Catholick* Subjects; who should not only enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, but be as capable of all Offices and Benefices as the rest of his Subjects: Declaring, That all Oaths which might incapacitate any of his Subjects to hold Places or Offices should be void, and never tendered to any without his Majesty's special Warrant; promising, however, that he will maintain and protect the Bishops and Clergy, and the rest of his Protestant Subjects, in the free Exercise of their Religion.

A.D. 1688 $\frac{6}{7}$ 

2 Fac. II.

The Penal  
Laws suspended  
there.

The Privy-Council of *Scotland* made no scruple in complying with his Majesty; and having caused the said Proclamation to be published, let him know they were ready to assert his Royal Prerogatives with their Lives and Fortunes. Which Answer was signed by thirty Noblemen and Persons of Distinction in that Kingdom.

The King meeting with such Success in *Scotland*, proposed to the Privy-Council of *England*, the Granting Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects here, which every one of that Board seeming to approve, he publish'd a Declaration on the 4th of *April*, wherein he says, He could not but heartily wish, that all his Subjects were Members of the *Catholick Church*; yet it was his Opinion, that Conscience ought not to be constrain'd: That though Uniformity of Religious Worship had been

A.D. 1687 $\frac{2}{3}$ 

3 Fac. II.

A Declaration  
for  
Liberty of  
Conscience  
in *England*.

endea-



A.D. 1687. endeavoured in the Reigns of Four of his Predecessors, assisted by their respective Parliaments, yet it had proved ineffectual: That the Restraint upon the Consciences of the Dissenters had been prejudicial to the Nation, and the penal Laws against them rather increased than lessen'd their Number: That nothing could conduce more to the Peace and the flourishing Trade of the Kingdom, than an entire Liberty of Conscience: And having, in the first Place, declared, That he would protect the Bishops and Clergy, and the rest of his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exercise of their Religion, and the full Enjoyment of their Possessions: He declares it to be his Will and Pleasure, That all penal Laws for the Conformity of Religion be suspended: That all his Subjects were at Liberty to serve God in their own Way: And that he might have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, it was his Will and Pleasure, That the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the several Tests and Declarations establish'd by Acts of Parliament, should not be required of any Person whatever, who should be employ'd in any Office or Place of Trust, Civil or Military; and grants an ample Pardon to all Nonconformists, Recusants, and others, for all Offences against the penal Laws relating to Religion. But to remove all Fears and Jealousies concerning the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, he thought fit to declare, That he would maintain them in all their Properties and Possessions whatsoever.

Penal  
Laws sus-  
pended.

Oaths dis-  
pens'd  
with.

The Dis-  
senter's Ad-  
dresses of  
Thanks on  
this Occa-  
sion.

This Declaration drew Addresses of Thanks from all Denominations of Dissenters; where- in they did not only flatter his Majesty most

egre-

egregiously, but applauded his taking upon him to dispense with the Laws, and assuming an arbitrary Dominion : Popery, and arbitrary Power, with which they had terrified and distracted the Kingdom, in the four preceding Protestant Reigns, were now, in the Reign of a Popish Prince, become innocent harmless Things ; or rather the Establishment of them, to which the Dissenters contributed with all their Might, was look'd upon as the likeliest Means to make the *English* a flourishing and happy People.

Upon which a certain Writer makes these Reflections. The loyal Church of *England*, says he, which had constantly preached and practised *Obedience in all Things lawful*, was now condemned as disloyal and disobedient, because she could not exceed those Limits ; and the Dissenters, who were always Rebels in Speculation, and in Practice, whenever they had Opportunity, were in an Instant become the only good Subjects : Those who had signalized their Zeal for the King's Interest, by a Course of important Services, were turn'd out of their Employments, and the Promoters of the Exclusion Bill, with the Patriots of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, were now thought the fittest Persons to be trusted. In Return for the Indulgence granted them, their Lives and Fortunes, Laws and Liberties, were all too small a Sacrifice ; and while the Church of *England* was harass'd and distress'd, the Dissenters remain'd at Ease, basking in the Sun-shine of a Court, which seem'd to have thaw'd all their rigid Humours, and melted them down into a perfect Compliance with their Friends the *Papists* : They who were formerly refractory and disobedient

A.D. 1687.

3 Fac. II.

Some Remarks upon their Conduct.

A.D. 1687

3 Jac. II.

ent to the Laws, and were for paring off the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, as if the Romish Priests had transubstantiated them, now carried their Obedience beyond the Laws, and became the Champions of the dispensing Power.

In another Pamphlet, ascribed to Doctor *Burnet*, speaking of the Promises made to the Dissenters, on which they seem'd to rely, he admonishes them, Not to put too great Confidence in the Royal Word, for they could not be supposed to be more lasting than those that were made some Time before to the Church of *England*, who had both a better Title in Law, and greater Merit upon the Crown, to assure them they should be well used, than the Dissenters could pretend to. That as the Church of *England* was the only Establishment that our Religion had by Law, so it was the main Body of the Nation; and all the Sects were but small and straggling Parties: And if the legal Settlement of the Church was dissolved, and that Body once broken, these lesser Bodies would be all at Mercy. From whence he infers, it could never be their Interest to join with the Papists as they did at that Time, in distressing and insulting the Church. But to proceed. The next Step the Court took to suppress the Church of *England*, and introduce Popery was to attack the two Universities, and bring them under the Subjection of their new erected Ecclesiastical Commission: They had already found Means to get one *Basset*, a Roman Catholic, chosen Master of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*; and this Year, the King sent a Letter to that University, to admit *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of

A Popish  
Head of a  
College.  
A Mandate  
to make  
Father  
*Francis*  
Master of  
Arts.

Arts

Arts, without administering to him the usual Oaths: Whereupon Doctor *Peachell*, the Vice-Chancellor, Master of *Magdalen* College, communicated the King's Letter to the Senate, who unanimously resolved not to admit the said Father *Francis*, 'till the King had been petition'd to revoke the Mandate; and sent a Letter to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, to interceed with the King, not to insist upon it, as being contrary to their Oaths: To which the Duke answer'd, he had represented the Matter to the King, but he would not hear of a Denial; advising the whole Body of the University to join in a Petition to his Majesty, to revoke his Mandate, which they agreed to do, but the King would not receive their Petition. On the contrary, they received a second Letter from his Majesty, to admit Father *Francis*, at their *Peril*. The University thereupon wrote to the Duke of *Albemarle* again, and to the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord President of the Council, to interceed for them; but the Duke of *Sunderland* let them know that the King had seen their Letter to him, and was offended with the University: And the Duke of *Albemarle* acquainted them at the same Time, that his Intercession could not prevail. And it was but a very little Time after, that *Atterbury*, the Messenger, was sent to *Cambridge*, by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, to summon the Vice-Chancellor to appear before them in Person, and the Senate by their Deputies, which they did on the 21st of *April*, and obtain'd a Week's Time to put in their Answer; when the Vice-Chancellor and Deputies appearing again, their Answer was read, wherein several Statutes were recited,

A.D. 1687

3 Jac. II.

Which the University of *Cambridge* refuse to comply with.

The Vice-Chancellor and Senate summon'd before the High Commission.



A.D. 1687.

3 Jac. II.

The Vice-Chancellor deprived.

A Mandate to Magdalen College, in Oxford, to elect a President named by the King.

They elect another, and are summon'd before the High Commission.

requiring the Oaths to be tender'd to every Person admitted to a Degree in the University. They also took Notice of the Statute of the 17th of *Charles* the First, whereby the High-Commission Court, and all Courts of the like Nature, (as this was) were abolish'd. But their Answer was not regarded. The Commissioners proceeded to deprive Doctor *Peachell* of the Office of Vice-Chancellor, and suspended him, *ab Officio & Beneficio*, of his Headship of *Magdalen* College; and Doctor *Balderston*, Master of *Emanuel* College, was chosen Vice-Chancellor in his Room. The Senate also were reprimanded, and order'd to send up Copies of their Statutes.

*Magdalen* College in *Oxford* was used with still greater Severity. Their late President, Doctor *Clark*, being dead, the Vice-President had appointed a Day for the Election of another President; but before that Day came, the King sent the College his Mandate to elect *Anthony Farmer*, a new Convert, who had promised to profess himself a Papist, and one who was otherwise obnoxious, on account of his Morals: Whereupon, the Fellows of *Magdalen* College presented a Petition to the King, that he would not insist upon their electing *Farmer*, but leave them to the Freedom of their Choice; to which they could obtain no other Answer, but *That his Majesty would be obey'd*. However, the Vice-President and Fellows having waited, 'till the last Day they were obliged to make their Election on by the Statutes, ventured to make Choice of Mr. *Hough*, for which they were summon'd to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at *Whitehall*, on the 6th of *June* when it was demanded, Why they had not obey'd

obey'd the King's Mandate, in electing Mr. *Farmer* their President? And desiring Time to give in their Answer, they were allow'd 'till the 13th Instant; when they appear'd again, and their Answer was read, shewing, That they were obliged by their Statutes, to which they were sworn, to elect a President out of the Fellows of their own, or of New College; and that Mr. *Farmer* was of neither of those Colleges, and otherwise disqualified, as they had represented to the King, by their Chancellor, the Duke of *Ormond*: That they had waited 'till the last Day limited by their Statutes, for the Election of a President, and then made Choice of Mr. *Hough*, a Fellow of their College, who had been since confirm'd by their Visitor the Bishop of *Winchester*. This Answer was sign'd by Five of the Deputies, sent up by the College; but Dr. *Fairfax*, the Sixth, not having consented to it, desired to be heard apart, which being granted, he said, This Cause was not cognizable here, but in *Westminster-Hall*, and desired to know by what Commission, or Authority, the Commissioners sat; to which he received no other Answer, but that he talk'd like a Madman. The Deputies being order'd to withdraw, and appear again the 22d Instant, they then made Proof of Mr. *Farmer's* irregular and vicious Life, which disqualified him to be President of their College; nor was *Farmer* able to clear up his Reputation. However, the Commissioners took upon them to deprive Doctor *Hough* of the Presidentship, and suspended Doctor *Aldworth*, the Vice-President, and Doctor *Fairfax*; commanding the rest of the Fellows to cause their Sentence to be executed; but the Fellows did not think fit to

Their Plea.

Doctor  
*Hough*, the  
new Presi-  
dent, de-  
prived by  
the Com-  
missioners,  
with Doc-  
tor *Ald-  
worth*, and  
Doctor  
*Fairfax*.

A.D. 1687. obey them : And the King being fully apprized of *Farmer's* vicious Life, sent another Mandate to *Magdalen* College, commanding them to elect *Doctor Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, their President ; on which I shall enlarge hereafter, and proceed, at present, to give an Account of some Transactions that happen'd in the mean Time.

3 Jac. II.

Another Mandate to elect the Bishop of *Oxford*.

More Protestants turn'd out, and Papists put in their rooms.

The King still proceeded to Closet the Officers of his Court, and the Members of Parliament ; and besides his Brothers-in-Law, the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was now turn'd out of Commission, on his refusing to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, of which he had once been a Member. The Protestant Lord Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of Peace, were many of them removed also to make room for Catholicks ; only the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was pleased to profess himself of the King's Religion, preserved his Post and Interest at Court ; and whether he did not play the Hypocrite with his Master, and push him upon those desperate and arbitrary Councils, that proved his Ruin, is much question'd. Certain it is, no Man had that Influence over King *James* that *Sunderland* had, and no Man appear'd more in the Interest of his Enemies afterwards.

The noble Stand made by the Members of Parliament.

But whatever Progress his Majesty made in the Conversion of his Officers and Ministers of State, and bringing them over to his Measures, he found, after near two Years Closetting, that neither Threats nor Promises could induce the Commons to betray their Country, and fall into his Measures. No Gentlemen ever shew'd greater Loyalty and Affection for their Prince, so long as he kept within any

Bounds ;



Bounds; but when they found that he struck A.D. 1687.  
 at the whole Constitution in Church and State,  
 and that nothing less would satisfy him, than 3<sup>rd</sup> fac. II.  
 the Subversion of their Religion and Liberties,  
 they discover'd a true *English* Spirit, and re-  
 fused to come into his Measures: And yet  
 surely no Gentlemen were ever so abused and  
 traduced, as this House of Commons, both  
 as to their being elected, and their Conduct Who are,  
however,  
traduced  
by Bishop  
Burnet.  
 in the House, by that Protestant Prelate,  
 Bishop *Burnet*, who, in his Posthumous Hi-  
 story, has the Assurance to affirm, That in  
 all Parts of *England*, such Injustice and Vio-  
 lence was used to procure Persons to be elect-  
 ed, who were in the Interest of the Court, as  
 had never been known before; when the  
 Truth is, there never was, since the Time  
 that Parliaments began, a freer and more  
 unanimous Election, as Hundreds that are  
 now living can testify: And tho' he has the  
 Assurance to tell us, they were all Beggars  
 and Blockheads, not one of the Five Hun-  
 dred excepted, I shall take the Liberty of  
 reciting a Paragraph out of Mr. *Echard*,  
 which sufficiently confutes both these Calum-  
 nies, and must make our Author's Friends  
 blush for him, if they are not, like him, Proof  
 against all Shame or Conviction. The Passage  
 is in Mr. *Echard*'s History of *England*, Page  
 1056, where he says, "The Elections were  
 "generally carried on and compleated with  
 "the most uncommon Coolness, Discretion,  
 "and Unanimity; and notwithstanding the  
 "unjustifiable modelling so many Corporati-  
 "ons since the last Parliament, there never  
 "was a House of Commons more able and  
 "more industrious in preserving the Happi-  
 "ness of the King, the Nation, and the  
 esta-



A.D. 1687.

3 Jac. II.

“ establish’d Religion : It consisted for the  
 “ most part, of the late prevailing Party, but  
 “ of the richest and wisest Men of the King-  
 “ dom, among whom there were Fifty Five  
 “ of Noble Families, Ninety Five Baronets,  
 “ and Ninety Six Knights, and the rest were  
 “ commonly Gentlemen of the best Interest,  
 “ Credit, and Knowledge in their Countries ;  
 “ especially those that were elected for Coun-  
 “ ties : Those for the City of *London*, and  
 “ the two Universities, were all of the same  
 “ Party ; the former were *Sir John Moor*, *Sir*  
 “ *William Pritchard*, *Sir Samuel Dashwood*, and  
 “ *Sir Peter Rich* ; the *Cantabrigians* were *Sir*  
 “ *Thomas Exton*, and *Dr. Robert Brady* ; the  
 “ *Oxonians* were *Sir Leoline Jenkins*, and *Dr.*  
 “ *Charles Perrot*, Kt. And further to satisfy  
 “ the Reader’s Curiosity, I shall name Forty  
 “ or Fifty, who seem to have had the greatest  
 “ Influence in the House, without considering  
 “ any Party at all, as *Sir Richard Temple*,  
 “ *Sir William Edgerton*, *Mr. Hampden*, *Sir*  
 “ *Levinus Bennet*, *Sir John Cotton*, *Sir Robert*  
 “ *Southwell*, *Mr. Sidney Godolphin*, *Mr. Edmund*  
 “ *Waller*, *Sir William Trumball*, *Lord Preston*,  
 “ *Sir John Lowther*, *Sir Christopher Musgrave*,  
 “ *Sir Edward Seymour*, *Serjeant Maynard*, *Sir*  
 “ *Winston Churchill*, *Mr. Ralph Freeman*, the  
 “ Honourable *John Verney*, *Sir Thomas Meers*,  
 “ *Lord Castleton*, *Sir Henry Munson*, the Ho-  
 “ nourable *Charles Bertie*, *Sir Jacob Ashley*,  
 “ *Sir Nevil Catiline*, *Sir William Cook*, *Sir*  
 “ *Nicholas L’Estrange*, *Sir John Fenwick*, *Sir*  
 “ *Roger L’Estrange*, *Sir William Blacket*, *Mr.*  
 “ *Theophilus Oglethorp*, *Sir Robert Holmes*, *Sir*  
 “ *Thomas Clarges*, *Mr. Henry Wallop*, *Sir John*  
 “ *Trevor*, *Mr. Thomas Glenham*, *Lord Hunting-*  
 “ *ton*, *Sir Henry Beddingfield*, *Sir John Bruce*,  
 “ the

“ the Honourable *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Thomas*  
 “ *Bludworth*, Mr. *William Garraway*, Sir *Ro-*  
 “ *ger Cave*, the Honourable *Thomas Coventry*,  
 “ Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lord *Cornbury*, Sir *John*  
 “ *Packington*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *Willoughby*  
 “ *Hickman*, Sir *Thomas Jenour*, Mr. *William*  
 “ *Williams*, Sir *Christopher Wren*, Mr. *Robert*  
 “ *Foley*, Sir *Michael Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas*  
 “ *Barnardiston*, Sir *John Nicholas*, &c.”

A.D. 1687  
2 Jac. II.

These are some of the Gentlemen the ingenious Dr. *Burnet* represents as having neither Sense or Substance; but shall such a Body of Men, of the greatest Quality and Figure among the Commons of *England*, be thus vilely aspersed, without raising a suitable Indignation in every Man that reads him?

Must not the Credit of this Writer sink, and his Authority be for ever blasted, who has related such notorious Falsehoods, and attempted to destroy the Characters of Five Hundred Gentlemen at once, so well known to the present Generation? It is observable also, that he calls them *The Face and Name of a Parliament*; whereas if they were no Parliament, they were an illegal Assembly, and all their Acts, publick and private, void; and yet we do not find one of them declared so by any Act since the Revolution. What mad Work would he make, if his Insinuations were attended to? Whenever any Elections are not suitable to our Humours, we are, according to him, to look upon ourselves as under no manner of Obligation to submit to the Parliament, or obey any Laws they shall make.

But methinks, the Addresses that came from all Parts of the Kingdom, congratulating the King's Accession, and that extravagant Loyalty and Zeal, which this Writer tells us, all  
 People

*A.D.* 1687. *People* express'd towards his Majesty, at the Beginning of his Reign, must render all indirect Practices, in the Election of Members, perfectly needless; and indeed, according to his accustom'd Method, he chuses to keep in Generals, and does not vouchsafe to give us one Instance of that Violence and Injustice, which he so loudly exclaims against, or so much as suggests there was any Bribery practised.

The Continuers of *Rapin* contradict Doctor *Burnet's* Character of this Parliament.

Even the Continuers of *Rapin*, who appear to have such an uncommon Veneration for Bishop *Burnet*, on other Occasions, are compell'd, by the Force of Truth, to contradict him in this Particular: Their Words are these; "When one compares the Firmness of the Members of this Parliament, when they believed the Interests of Religion were at Stake, with their extream Zeal for the King, in the Beginning of their Session, it must be inferr'd, that their Condescendence was owing purely to their mistaken good Opinion of him; and that their Firmness now was owing to their Recovery from that Mistake: *It is therefore without Foundation, that they are charged with a Design of sacrificing to the King the Interest of Religion, and their Country.* The contrary manifestly appear'd in the Resistance made by them to the Temptations which the King laid before them, and this even in his Presence, and Face to Face. This, in my Opinion, is the highest Degree to which Resolution can be carried: *They were all, or the far greatest Number of them, Members of the Church of England; nay, for the most part, High-Church Men.* I have before given the Reason of their excessive Zeal for, and

Con-

A.D. 1687

3 Fac. II.

“ Condescendence to the King, and there-  
 “ fore need not repeat it here; but when they  
 “ discover’d, that the keeping under the Non-  
 “ conformists was no longer the Business, but  
 “ that the King’s Designs struck at the Pro-  
 “ testant Religion in general, without any  
 “ Distinction of Sects, *they proved, beyond all*  
 “ *Contradiction, that they were no less zealous*  
 “ *Protestants than those who accused them of being*  
 “ *Papists, or popishly inclined.*”

This is so glorious and just a Representati-  
 on of that Part of the Nation, who are de-  
 nominated *High-Church Men*, as could scarce  
 have been expected from an Enemy, and is  
 sufficient alone to shew, that those of this  
 Persuasion, who are a very great Majority of  
 the Nation, are the best Subjects, as well as  
 the best Friends to the Constitution; that  
 nothing could have alienated the Affections of  
 a House of Commons of this Stamp from their  
 Prince, but an apparent Endeavour to alter  
 the whole Frame of the Government, Ecclesi-  
 astical and Civil, and change this limited to  
 an absolute Monarchy.

King *James* could have ask’d nothing of  
 these Gentlemen which they would not rea-  
 dily have granted, unless their Resisting him  
 in the Subversion of their Religion and Li-  
 berties, which when they refused to gratify  
 him in, after frequent Closettings, and tampe-  
 ring with them in private, he thought fit to  
 dissolve them by Proclamation, on the second  
 of *July*, not having suffered them to sit above  
 two Months of the two Years they were in  
 being.

The King had no sooner dissolved this Par-  
 liament, but he made Preparations for calling  
 another, which might be more obsequious ;

The High-  
 Church  
 Men the  
 best Sub-  
 jects, and  
 the great-  
 est Patri-  
 ots, by the  
 Confession  
 of the  
 Whiggs.

The Par-  
 liament  
 dissolved.

The Cor-  
 porations  
 new mo-  
 dell’d  
 again.



A.D. 1687

3 Jac. II.

The Pro-  
secution of  
*Maudlin*  
College  
revived.

and that he might have the Corporations entirely in his Power, *Quo Warranto's* were issued afresh, and all imaginable Measures taken to make them surrender their Charters: After which, the King proposed, by altering their Magistrates, and new modelling them, to have had such a Representative sent up, as would have confirm'd and establish'd the Toleration he had granted, and have repeal'd the penal Laws and Test: But notwithstanding his new modelling the Corporations, and a further Reformation made among the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, introducing great Numbers of Papists, Presbyterians, and other unqualified Persons, into the Magistracy, he found his Designs all frustrated by the Firmness of the Church of *England* express'd on this Occasion. And this possibly might be one Reason of his falling with that Fury on the Universities again, and resuming the Prosecution against *Magdalen College*: But whatever was the Occasion, the King, in his Progress through the West of *England*, a little before *Michaelmas*, taking *Oxford* in his Way, sent for the Fellows of *Maudlin*, to attend him at *Christ-Church*; and Doctor *Pudsey*, with the rest of that Society appearing before him, he demanded, if they had obey'd his Mandate in electing the Bishop of *Oxford* their President? Whereupon, Doctor *Pudsey* tendered his Majesty a Petition, in the Name of himself and his Brethren, shewing their inexpressible Affliction, in finding themselves reduced to such an Extremity, that either they must disobey his Majesty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that constant Course of Loyalty, which they had manifested on all Occasions, or else

break

break their Founders Statutes deliberately, <sup>AD. 1687</sup> and perjure themselves, (for the Bishop of *Oxford* was no better qualified to be their President, than Mr. *Farmer*, having never been Fellow either of *Maudlin* or *New College*); and cited the Statutes, and Oaths, they were obliged to observe: But the King refusing to receive their Petition, reply'd, "Ye have been a stubborn turbulent College: I have known you these Six and Twenty Years, and ye have affronted me in this; Is this your Church of *England* Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of *England* Men in such a Business: Go home, and shew yourselves good Members of the Church of *England*. Get you gone! — Know I am your King, — I will be obey'd, and I command you to be gone — Go, and admit the Bishop of *Oxford* Head, Principal, What d'ye call it? — I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse know, they shall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Displeasure: Upon which, the Fellows going out of the King's Presence, they were call'd back, and ask'd, Whether they had not admitted Mr. *Holland* Fellow, since they received his Inhibition? They answer'd, There was no new Election, or Admission, but only the Consummation of a former Election. The Consummation of a former Election, (cry'd the King) is downright Disobedience, and a fresh Aggravation. — Get you Home, I say again, and immediately repair to your Chappel, and elect the Bishop of *Oxford*, or else you must expect to feel the Weight of my Hand. — Thereupon, the Fellows, once more, offer'd their Petition upon their Knees;

The King  
threatens  
the Fel-  
lows.

A.D. 1687 “ but the King cry’d out, Get you gone, I  
 “ receive none from you, ’till you have obey’d  
 3 Jac. II. “ me, and admitted the Bishop of *Oxford*  
 “ Upon which, they immediately went to their  
 “ Chappel, and Dr. *Pudsey* proposing, Whether  
 “ they must obey the King? They readily  
 “ answer’d, They were as ready to obey  
 “ his Majesty in all Things that lay in the  
 “ Power, as any of the rest of his Subjects  
 “ but the electing of the Bishop of *Oxford*  
 “ being directly contrary to their Statute  
 “ and the positive Oath they had taken, they  
 “ could not apprehend it in their Power  
 “ obey him in this Matter.” Nor was the  
 King able, by all his Threats, to force them  
 to a Compliance, before he left *Oxford*.

*Penn* endeavours  
 to wheedle  
 the College  
 into a  
 Compliance.

*William Penn*, the Quaker, a great Favourite at Court, was afterwards employ’d to write to the College in a friendly manner. He let them know the Consequence of disobeying his Majesty: He told them, That the King’s Temper was such, that he would never be baffled in any thing he heartily espoused. That there were so many Statutes to be observed, it was impossible but some must be broken; and he was inform’d, that a Failure in any one Point would forfeit their Charter and lay them open to the Royal Displeasure, and that their Destruction would be a fair Beginning of the so much aim’d at Reformation first in the Universities, and then in the Church: From whence he infers, That for the Sake of the Whole, it would be their Wisdom to comply with his Majesty. To which the College answer’d, They were not conscious of having given his Majesty any just Offence. That the Misdemeanors of particular Persons would not destroy a College; but if their Corporation

But to no  
 Purpose.

Corporation should be dissolved, the Revenues A.D. 1687.  
 should return to the Heirs of the Founders,  
 and not devolve on the Crown : That if their  
 College was to be made the first Example of  
 that kind, they should justify themselves bet-  
 ter by the Observation of their Statutes, at  
 least to God and their own Consciences, than  
 they could by a voluntary, and deliberate  
 Breach of them ; concluding with some In-  
 stances of their Loyalty to the Crown, parti-  
 cularly during *Monmouth's* Rebellion, when  
 they raised a Company at their own Charge,  
 and fought the Enemy under the Command  
 of their Fellows.

But how loyal soever they had been, it did Commis-  
 not at all avail them. *Dr. Cartwright*, Bishop sioners  
 of *Chester*, *Sir Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Ju- sent to vi-  
 stice, and *Sir Thomas Jenner*, one of the Ba- sit Magda-  
 rons of the *Exchequer*, were sent down to visit len Col-  
 the College, in the King's Name ; and having lege.  
 cited *Dr. Hough*, the President, and the rest  
 of the Fellows, before them, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of  
*October*, the Bishop of *Chester* told them, 'That The Bi-  
 the Church of *England* taught an uncondi- shop of  
 tional and unlimited Obedience : 'That their *Chester's*  
 Corporation, like others, was a Creature of Speech to  
 the Crown ; and it was Insolence, by their the Col-  
 local Statutes, to spurn against their Maker : lege, ad-  
 'That their Distempers had brought this Visita- vising  
 tion upon them, the Consequence whereof them to  
 might be fatal to the Church, as well as to the submit.  
 Universities, advising them to submit to this  
 Visitation.

*Dr. Hough*, in the Name of himself, and  
 the Fellows, answer'd, 'That they submitted  
 to it, as far as was consistent with the Laws  
 of the Land, and the Statutes of the College,  
 and no farther. Then the Bishop of *Chester*  
 demand-



A.D. 1687

3 Jac. II.

The Decree of the Commissioners.

Dr. *Hough* refuses to obey it.

The Commissioners install the Bishop of *Oxford*, and break open the President's Lodgings.

demand'd, If they kept all their Statutes To which Dr. *Hough* answering, He hoped they did ; the Bishop reply'd, You have a Statute for Mass, Why don't you read Mass? The President said, That Statute was repeal'd, or superseded by the Law of the Land. After some further Expostulations, the Commissioners caus'd a Decree to be read, declaring Dr. *Hough's* Election void ; and he was required to resign his Lodgings to the Bishop of *Oxford*, whom the King had appointed President. But *Hough* refused to deliver up his Keys, and protested against all their Proceedings, as illegal and void, appealing to the King in his Courts of Justice ; at which the Audience gave a Humm : Whereupon, the Lord Chief Justice said, They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College : That he valued not what People said of him, but was resolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Master, to the last Drop of his Blood ; and if the Civil Power could not keep them in Order, the Military should.

The Commissioners meeting three Days after, demand'd of the Fellows, Whether they would install the Bishop of *Oxford* President? To which they answer'd as before, That it was contrary to their Oaths, and therefore not in their Power : Whereupon, the Commissioners proceeded, by their own Authority, (in the Absence of all the Fellows, but Mr. *Charnock* a Papist) to install the Bishop of *Oxford* by Proxy ; and afterwards broke open the President's Lodgings, and put the Bishop of *Oxford's* Chaplain, who acted as his Proxy, into the Possession of them.

It being demand'd of the Fellows again, Whether they would obey the Bishop of *Oxford*,

*Oxford*, as President, now he was install'd by the King's Mandate? They all answer'd, (except Dr. *Fairfax* and *Charnock*) That they did submit, as far as was lawful, and agreeable to the Statutes of the College, and no way prejudicial to the Right of Dr. *Hough*; which Answer was accepted, except the last Clause; and Dr. *Fairfax*, who persisted in his Refusal to obey any other President than Dr. *Hough*, was expell'd, which he protested against as void: But when the Commissioners return'd to *London*, they found that his Majesty would be satisfied with nothing less than an absolute Submission of the Fellows to the Bishop of *Oxford*, as their President, without any Reserve; and they were commanded to return to *Oxford* again, and compel them to make such a Submission. Accordingly, the Commissioners came down a second Time to *Oxford*, in the middle of *November*, and having constituted Mr. *Joyner* and Mr. *Allibone*, two Roman Catholicks, Fellows of the College, the Bishop of *Chester* made another Speech to the Society, wherein he threaten'd them very severely, if they did not sign a Submission, which the Commissioners had drawn up; and told them, Though they pretended to be such strict Observers of their Statutes, when their own Humour prompted them to a Dispensation, they made no Scruple to dispense with them; witness that of their being served in the College by Men only, the dispensing with which, had brought great Scandal to the Society, by reason of Bastards: And at length gave them to understand, That if the Fellows did not sign the Submission before they left the Room, the Commissioners would proceed to pronounce Sentence against them.

A.D. 1687

3 Fac. II.

The Fellows required to sign a Submission.

*A.D.* 1687 them. Whereupon, all of the Fellows refusing to sign it, except Mr. *Charnock*, Dr. *Thomas Smith*, and Mr. *Thomson*; the remaining Five and twenty were deprived and expell'd from their Fellowships, by the Sentence of the Commissioners; against which they all protested, declaring they would use all just and legal Ways of being relieved. However, this Sentence was not only confirm'd by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at *London*, as well against the Twenty Five Fellows, as Dr. *Hough*, and Dr. *Fairfax*; but they were made incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion; and such of them as were not in Holy Orders, were adjudged incapable of being admitted into the same. After the Expulsion of the Fellows, most of the Demy's also were turn'd out of the College by the Bishop of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Charnock*, who was made his Vice-President, and Roman Catholics were introduced in their Places.

Bishop  
*Parker*  
writes in  
Defence of  
it, and of  
abrogating  
the Test.

Dr. *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, did not only palliate and defend these violent and arbitrary Proceedings of the Court, but published a Book entitled, *Reasons for Abrogating the Test*; which the Earl of *Sunderland*, President of the Council, and Prime Minister, licensed himself. In this Treatise Dr. *Parker* bore very hard upon his own Order, and on the Church of *England* in general: Which when some were surprized at, another Writer observed, That if there were two or three false Brethren among the twenty six Bishops, who had been preferred to do the dirty Work of the Court, they might comfort themselves, that among a Dozen of better Men there was one as bad. Nor did the King only encourage mercenary



Pens to write in Defence of his favourite *AD. 1687.*  
 Project, but still used his utmost Efforts to  
 bias the Electors in the several Counties and  
 Corporations, to make choice of such Men to  
 represent them, in the next Parliament he in-  
 tended to call, as would confirm all he had  
 done in this Matter: And because he was  
 conscious the Nation would have great Regard  
 to the Opinion of the Prince and Princess of  
*Orange* in this Case, the *English* Ambassador  
 at the *Hague* was ordered to endeavour to  
 bring them into his Majesty's Measures, and  
 declare for a Repeal of the Penal Laws and  
 Test: And when this was found impracticable,  
 it was given out nevertheless, That the Prince  
 and Princess had declared their Approbation  
 of it: Whereupon their Royal Highnesses di-  
 rected Mynheer *Fagel*, the Pensionary of *Am-*  
*sterdam*, to draw up a Letter to the Court of  
*England*, that might rectify all Mistakes, and  
 declare their real Opinions of such a Pro-  
 ceeding.

In this Letter, dated *November 1687*, the  
 Pensionary says, That the Prince and Princess  
 of *Orange* were of Opinion, That no Christian  
 ought to be punished for his Conscience, or  
 be ill used because he differed from the publick  
 established Religion: And therefore they  
 agreed that the Papists in the three Kingdoms  
 ought to be suffered to exercise their Reli-  
 gion with as much Liberty as was allowed  
 them in *Holland*; and approved also of tole-  
 rating the Dissenters, and even of repealing  
 the Penal Laws against them, provided those  
 Laws still remained in Force against the Ro-  
 man-Catholicks, and they remained excluded  
 from the Parliament, and all Employments  
 Civil and Military: But that their Highnesses  
 could

3 Fac. II.

The King  
endeavours  
still to get  
a Parlia-  
ment of  
his Mind.

The King  
endeavours  
to get the  
Prince of  
*Orange* in-  
to his Mea-  
sures.

His  
Thoughts  
of Repeal-  
ing the  
Test.



A.D. 1687.

3 Jac. II.

could by no means consent to the Repeal of the Test, and the other Penal Laws which tended to the Security of the Protestant Religion; for neither the Test nor the other Penal Laws could be said to carry in them any Severity against the Roman-Catholicks, on account of their Consciences; being only Provisions qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or capable of bearing Offices. This amounted to no more than a Securing the Protestant Religion from any Prejudices it might receive from Roman-Catholicks. (*And may it not be said with equal Reason, That the Laws against the Dissenters were chiefly Provisions to disqualify the Sectaries from being Members of Parliament, and to incapacitate them for Offices? And that this amounted to no more than the Securing the Church of England from the Prejudices it might receive from the Dissenters?* And, in Fact, the *Hollanders* allow no Dissenters from the Church, whether *Papists* or *Lutherans*, to have any Share in their Government; and the very same Reasons which induce them to exclude the *Lutherans*, and all other Dissenters from their Church, from having any Share in their Government, ought to induce us to exclude the *Presbyterians*, and other Dissenters from the established Church, from the Government here: Though it could not be expected that the Prince of *Orange*, who was then a Member of the *Dutch* Church, should be as severe against those of his own Profession, as he appears to have been against the *Papists*. But to return to *Mynheer Fagel's* Letter: He says) Those who had suggested, that the *Catholicks* in *Holland* were not excluded from Employments and Places of Trust, were grossly mistaken; for their Laws expressly excluded the Roman-Cath-

Catholicks from all Share in their Govern- A.D. 1687.  
ment, and all Employments whatsoever, ex- 3 Fac. II.  
cept Military Employments; by which the  
Publick Safety was no ways endangered, be-  
cause the Numbers of those of that Religion  
that served in their Troops were very small;  
and the States could easily prevent any Dan-  
ger that might arise from thence, as the Ro-  
man-Catholicks were not admitted to have  
any Share in the Government, or in the Policy  
or Justice of their State: Concluding, That  
*their Highnesses ever had, and were resolved to*  
*preserve, a profound Submission to his Majesty, as*  
*they thought themselves in Duty bound by the Laws*  
*of God and Nature.* But since the Matter re-  
quired of them related not to the making of  
new Laws, but the total Abrogation of those  
already made by King and Parliament: Their  
Highnesses did not see how it could be expect-  
ed of them, that they should consent to  
such an Abrogation, as being a Thing that  
was contrary to the Laws and Customs of all  
Christian States, whether Protestants or Pa-  
pists, *who admitted none to a Share in the Govern-*  
*ment, or Publick Employments, but those who pro-*  
*fessed the Publick and Established Religion, and*  
*endeavour'd to secure it against all Attempts what-*  
*soever.* (And possibly there never was a Go-  
vernment so indulgent as that in *England*,  
which suffered this general Rule to be broken  
through and evaded by an hypocritical Oc-  
casional Conformity, practis'd only by *English*  
Dissenters; such as even the Papists themselves  
prohibit and abhor, and in this Respect may  
be looked upon as the honestest and less dan-  
gerous Persuasion of the two.)

In the mean time the King having prevail-  
d with the Pope to appoint Signior *Ferdinan-*

A Nuncio  
from the  
Pope makes  
his Publick  
Entry;

A.D. 1687

3 Jac. II.

is invited  
to dine  
with the  
Lord  
Mayor.

The Duke  
of Somerset  
turned out.

More Pa-  
pists pre-  
ferred.

do d'Adda (a Favourite of the Queen's, who had followed the Court ever since his Majesty's Accession) to be declared his Apostolical Nuncio to the Court of *England*: The Nuncio made his Publick Entry as a Foreign Ambassador at *Windsor* on the third of *July*, with great Solemnity, being preceded by a Cross-bearer, and attended by Crouds of Popish Priests and Monks in their respective Habits: And to do the greater Honour to this *Roman* Ambassador, it was so contrived that he was invited, with the King and Court, to dine at *Guildhall* on the Lord Mayor's Day: When it was no small Diverſion to some People, to see with what Ceremony his Eminence was received by the Sheriffs of *London* at *Temple-Bar*, and afterwards complemented in the Name of the City by Sir *John Shorter*, the Presbyterian Lord Mayor; (for the Papists and Presbyterians, and their Creatures, in a manner divided all Publick Places and Employments among them at this time) while the Nobility and Gentry, who shewed any Concern for the Church of *England*, or the Liberties of the Kingdom, were turned a grazing: The Duke of *Somerset* in particular, 'tis said, lost his Post in the Bedchamber, and a Regiment of Dragoons, because he would not introduce the Pope's Nuncio to his Audience, which he apprehended bordered upon Treason.

On the other hand, the Lord *Sunderland*, who complied with his Majesty in every thing, and even seemed to be more zealous than the King himself in advancing Popery, was installed Knight of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*; being already President of the Council, Secretary of State, and Prime Minister. The Duke of *Berwick*, the King's  
natural

natural Son, was designed General of his Forces, and sent into the Emperor's Service against the *Turks*, to qualify him for that Post. *Sir Francis Ratcliff*, a *Roman-Catholick*, was created Baron of *Tindale*, Viscount *Ratcliff*, and Earl of *Derwentwater*; *Roger Earl of Castlemain*, who had been Ambassador to the Pope, was called to the Council-Board; as was Father *Edward Petre*, the Jesuit, Clerk of the Closet to the King, by the Advice of the Lord *Sunderland*, only, 'tis said, to render the King odious to his Subjects; it having been strenuously opposed by the Queen, and many of the more discerning Catholicks: But whether that Lord was the Author of that Advice, or not, I will not pretend to determine; only as he was Prime Minister, and appeared the forwardest to push his Majesty on such unpopular Schemes, this, among others, was ascribed to him.

A.D. 1687.

3 Fac. II.

Father  
*Petre* made  
 a Privy-  
 Counsellor.

But nothing gave the King such Hopes of establishing his Religion, or proved such a Damp to the Protestants, as the Queen's being with Child; which was published in the *Gazette* of the second of *January*, 1687, and solemn Prayers and Thanksgivings ordered to be offered up on that Occasion on the 15th instant, in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and on the 29th in all Parts of the Kingdom: And the Bishops of *Durham*, *Rochester*, and *Peterborough*, who acted still for the Bishop of *London*, drew up a Form of Prayer, by the Direction of the Court; wherein they blessed the good Providence of God, which vouchsafed the Nation fresh Hopes of Royal Issue by Queen *Mary*; and add, *Strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun; command thy holy Angels to watch over her continually,*

The Queen  
 declared to  
 be with  
 Child.

A Form of  
 Prayer for  
 her.



A.D. 1687. *ually, and defend her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further Establishment of his Crown, the Happiness and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, &c.* Which the Clergy of the Church of *England* were afterwards so much ashamed of, that they pretend few of them read the Prayer entire. And when the Papists seemed to triumph on this Occasion, and it was demanded of them, how they knew it would be a Son; some of them answered, If it should prove a Daughter, the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark* would be excluded from the Succession, as they were born before his Majesty was King of *England*: While other Catholics were taught to believe, that the Queen's Pregnancy was wholly miraculous, and was the Effect of the Prayers of the old Dutchess of *Modena* to the Blessed Virgin; or of a Vow of the Queen's to the Lady of *Loretto*, when she presented that Oratory with a Golden Image adorned with Precious Stones; adding, That the same Power by which the Queen conceived, would infallibly give her a Son. Which, 'tis said, first gave the Protestants a Suspicion that the *Roman-Catholics* were determined to put a Son upon the Kingdom, whatever became of the Queen's Pregnancy; and certainly prejudiced the People extremely against the Government.

The Behaviour of the Papists hereupon.

The King increases his Fleet and Army.

The King observing that his Subjects, and especially those of the Church of *England*, who had formerly expressed such uncommon Loyalty, began now to be alienated from him, and to fix their Eyes upon his Daughters the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark*, as their principal Refuge against Popery, resolved to have such

such a Fleet and Army as should secure him *A.D. 1687.*  
 against domestick Insurrections, or foreign  
 Insults: Accordingly he encreased his Stand- *3 Jac. II.*  
 ing Army with *Irish* as well as *English* Troops,  
 and introduced a great Number of Popish  
 and *Irish* Officers; causing a Fleet to be fit-  
 ted out at the same time with great Dili-  
 gence: He also demanded the six *English* and  
*Scottish* Regiments in the *Dutch* Service; but  
 the *Dutch* pretended they were now their Sub- *The Dutch*  
 jects, having taken the Oaths to the States: *refuse to*  
 However, they gave Leave to such of the Of- *send over*  
 ficers to return to *England* as desired it; and *the Regi-*  
 about forty of them quitted the *Dutch* Ser- *ments in*  
 vice, and came over: The rest remained be- *their Ser-*  
 hind, though recalled by Proclamation; a *vice.*  
 Notion being propagated by Dr. *Burnet* and  
 some others, That a Man might renounce his  
 Allegiance to his natural Prince, and become  
 a Subject of what Kingdom or State he plea-  
 sed: Though it is very certain, that the Laws  
 of *England* would have adjudged any of them  
 guilty of High-Treason, if they had been  
 taken in Arms against the King, notwith-  
 standing that Pretence of having transferred  
 their Allegiance to another State; and that  
 their Fortunes and Estates in *England*, if they  
 had any, would have been forfeited on their  
 neglecting a legal Summons to return. But  
 however that be, King *James* believing himself  
 in a Condition to force Obedience from all  
 his Subjects in whatever he proposed, issued  
 another Declaration for Liberty of Conscience  
 on the 27th of *April*, in which the former of  
 the 4th of *April*, 1687, was recited; and an  
 Order of Council was published on the 4th  
 of *May*, commanding it to be read in the Time  
 of

Another  
 Declaration  
 for Liberty  
 of Consci-  
 ence, or-  
 dered to  
 be read in  
 Churches,  
 and distri-  
 buted by  
 the Bishops.

A.D. 1688. of Divine Service in all Churches and Chapels in *London* and *Westminster*, and within ten Miles of those Cities, on the 20th and 27th of *May*, and in all other Churches and Chapels in *England* on the 3d and 10th of *June*, being *Sundays*; and that the Bishops should cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed in their respective Dioceses, and order the same to be read by their Clergy.

4 Jac. II.

The Bishops and Clergy that were about Town, deeply afflicted that they were to be made the Instruments of proclaiming his Majesty's Power to dispense with the Laws, assembled at the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to advise what was proper to be done upon this Occasion: And even *Dr. Burnet* admits, that the Archbishop acted suitably to his Post and Character on this Emergency; that he wrote to all the Bishops of his Province, to come up or send their Opinions; and finding that eighteen of the Bishops, and the main Body of the Clergy concurred with him, in a Resolution not to read the Declaration, his Grace, with *Dr. Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Dr. Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *Dr. Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Dr. Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, *Dr. White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and *Sir Jonathan Trelawny*, signed the following Petition.

Seven Bishops petition against Reading the Declaration in Churches.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

" The Humble Petition of *William* Arch-  
 " bishop of *Canterbury*, and divers of the  
 " Suffragan Bishops of that Province  
 " now present with him, in behalf of  
 " themselves, and others of their absent  
 " Bre-

“ Brethren, and of the inferiour Clergy *A.D. 1688.*  
 “ of their respective Diocesess, humbly  
 “ sheweth, *4 Jac. II.*

“ That the great Averseness they find in  
 “ themselves to the distributing and publish-  
 “ ing in all their Churches your Majesty’s  
 “ late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience,  
 “ proceeds neither from any Want of Duty  
 “ and Obedience to your Majesty; (our holy  
 “ Mother the Church of *England* being, both  
 “ in her Principles and constant Practice, un-  
 “ questionably loyal, and having; to her great  
 “ Honour, been more than once publicly  
 “ acknowledged to be so by your Gracious  
 “ Majesty) nor yet from any Want of Ten-  
 “ derness to Dissenters, in relation to whom  
 “ we are willing to come to such a Temper  
 “ as shall be thought fit, when the Matter  
 “ shall be considered and settled in Parlia-  
 “ ment and Convocation: But among many  
 “ other Considerations, from this especially,  
 “ Because that Declaration is founded upon  
 “ such a dispensing Power, as hath been of-  
 “ ten declared illegal in Parliaments, and  
 “ particularly in the Years 1662 and 1672;  
 “ and in the Beginning of your Majesty’s  
 “ Reign; and is a Matter of so great Mo-  
 “ ment and Consequence to the whole Na-  
 “ tion, both in Church and State, that your  
 “ Petitioners cannot, in Prudence, Honour,  
 “ or Conscience, so far make themselves Par-  
 “ ties to it, as the Distribution of it all over  
 “ the Nation, and the solemn Publication of  
 “ it once and again even in God’s House, and  
 “ in the Time of his Divine Service, must  
 “ amount to in common and reasonable Con-  
 Vol. XXIII. U u struction.



A.D. 1688. “struction. Your Petitioners therefore most  
 4 Jac. II. “humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty,  
 “That you will be pleased not to insist up-  
 “on this Distributing and Reading your  
 “Majesty’s said Declaration.

“And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound,  
 “shall ever pray, &c.

The King  
 resents it.

On the 18th of May, two Days before the Declaration was to be read, the six Bishops (the Archbishop being indisposed) attended his Majesty at *Whitehall* with the Petition; at which he was highly incensed, and angrily told them, *He had heard of it before, but did not believe it: He did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of them: If he changed his Mind, they should hear from him; if not, he expected his Commands should be obeyed.* To which the Bishops replied, *They resigned themselves to the Will of God; and then withdrew.*

Reasons  
 offered to  
 the Clergy  
 against  
 Reading  
 the Decla-  
 tion.

To discountenance the Reading this Declaration, a Paper also was drawn up, ascribed to Dr. Sherlock, but probably by the Direction of the same Bishops; wherein it is said, *We may fall a little sooner, by not reading the Declaration, if his Majesty should resent our Refusal as an Act of obstinate and peevish, or factious Disobedience; as our Enemies will be sure to represent it to him: But we shall as certainly fall, and not much later, if we do read it; and then we shall fall unpitied and despised, and it may be with the Curses of the Nation, which we shall ruin by our Compliance; and this is the Way never to rise again. Let us therefore suffer all that can be suffered in this World, rather than contribute*

to the final Ruin of the best constituted Church and State in the World. Thousands of which Papers were instantly dispersed all over *England*, and had the Effect that was expected from them, in keeping the Clergy firm and unanimous in their Resolution of not reading the Declaration; for it was read but in four or five Churches in *London*, and in very few in the Country; and some that did read it, declared in their Sermons, they did not approve it: And it is reported, that a certain Clergyman told his People, that, though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and staid till they were all gone out of Church before he read it: And in other Places, where the Declaration was read, their Congregations left them.

The King, finding his Declaration thus neglected, determined to prosecute the seven Bishops he looked upon to be the Occasion of it: And having summoned them before the Council (where they appeared on the eighth of *June*) it was demanded of them, If they owned the Petition? To which they answered, As they stood there as Criminals, they hoped his Majesty would not take Advantage against them; but being pressed to own it by the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Archbishop at length confessed that it was written with his own Hand, and that the rest had signed it, and he hoped they had done nothing but what they could justify: Whereupon the Chancellor demanded, If they would enter into Recognizances to appear in the Court of *King's-Bench*, to answer the Misdemeanour? They answered, As they were Peers, they were not obliged to give Security on being charged with a Misdemeanour

A.D. 1688

4 Jac. II.

and sent  
to the  
Tower.

meanour in the first Instance, and looked upon themselves bound in Duty to maintain the Rights of the Peerage, as well as the Rights of the Church; and *Jefferies* threatening to send them to the *Tower*, unless they withdrew their Petition, and obeyed the King's Declaration; they answered, *They were ready to go wherever his Majesty pleased; That they hoped the King of Kings would be their Protector and Judge; they had acted according to Law and their own Consciences, and no Punishments should ever shake their Resolutions.* Whereupon a Warrant was drawn up to commit them to the *Tower*, for framing and publishing a seditious Libel, as the Petition was stiled, against his Majesty and his Government: Which Warrant was signed by the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, President of the Council, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Powis*, the Earls of *Mulgrave*, *Huntington*, *Peterborough*, *Craven*, *Murray*, *Middleton*, *Melfort* and *Castlemain*, the Lords *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, and *Dover*, Sir *John Earnley*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*.

And as a Tumult was expected on the Commitment of these seven Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, they were ordered to be carried to the *Tower* by Water. But the People came in Crouds to the *Teames* Side, applauding the Courage of the Bishops, and wishing them a happy Deliverance out of the Hands of their Enemies: And they no sooner landed at the *Tower*, but the Officers and Soldiers of that Garrison fell upon their Knees and begged the Blessing of these glorious Confessors; whereupon the King ordered some other Companies to march into the *Tower*, in whom he had more Confidence.

To

To make the King some Amends for the frequent Mortifications he met with, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Prince at St. James's on *Trinity-Sunday*, the 10th of *June*, being two Days after the Bishops were committed to the *Tower*; which occasioned a Proclamation for a Thanksgiving to be observed on *Sunday* the 17th instant in *London* and *Westminster*, and the adjacent Towns, and fourteen Days after in the rest of the Kingdom. However, the People generally suspected there had not been fair Play; and the rather, because the Queen was brought to Bed while the Bishops were in the *Tower*, and the Princess *Anne* absent at the *Bath*. Some were of Opinion, the Queen was not brought to Bed at all; others, that the Child died, and another was introduced in the room of it; and upon the Death of this, a second, and a third; with abundance of other Stories. However, the Prince continuing to be constantly prayed for in Churches for upwards of six Months, even in the Prince of *Orange's* Chapel, who made no Enquiry into the Matter, as he promised he would; and the Birth being proved in *Chancery* by forty Witnesses, of whom a Majority were Protestants, and this still remaining upon Record; People are at Liberty to think what they please of this controverted Point; especially since the Principles on which the Revolution was brought about do not seem to be affected, whether the Gentleman stiled *The Pretender* were the Queen's Son, or not. But to return to the Bishops: They were brought by *Habeas Corpus* from the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench-Bar* on the 15th of *June*, to answer to an Information exhibited against them, for framing and publishing the Petition, or Libel,

already

A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

The Queen delivered of a Prince.

A Thanksgiving for it.

The People suspect an Imposture.



*A.D.* 1688. already mentioned ; and were called upon to plead to it : Their Council moved for Time till next Term to consider of a Plea ; but this not being allowed, they pleaded *Not Guilty* : After which they were admitted to Bail, on giving their own Recognizances ; the Archbishop being bound in 200 *l.* and the other Bishops in 100 *l.* each, to appear from Day to Day, till they should be legally discharged.

The Bishops admitted to Bail.

Their Trial.

Their Trials coming on the 29th of the same Month, vast Crouds of People came down to *Westminster-Hall* to be present at it ; and among them not less than thirty or forty of the Nobility : The Bishops had seven or eight of the greatest Council in *England* to plead for them ; who had all the fair Play imaginable, being allowed to speech it one after another as long as they pleased. They insisted, That the Bishops Hands to the Petition, which was denominated a Libel, could not be proved ; as indeed it could not, but by their having confessed it to the King, in Confidence, when they were before the Council ; and it was thought a little dishonourable in the Court to take Advantage of it : But this being got over, it was urged, There was no Proof of the Publishing it, unless the Presenting it to the King in the privatest Manner imaginable could be called so : They insisted also, That it was incumbent on them, as Bishops, to give their Reasons against Publishing this Declaration in their Churches : That all Subjects had a Right to Petition the King ; especially the Peers, who were his Great Council : That the Dispensing Power had been voted by Parliament to be against Law ; and that the late King was so fully convinced

convinced of it, that he had recalled a Declaration of the same Nature. A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

To this the King's Council replied, That the Votes of the Houses of Parliament were not Laws; That the King by receding upon a certain Occasion from a Point of his Prerogative, did not thereby yield it up; and tho' the Houses of Parliament might have a Right to petition, yet it would be Sedition in any other Persons to petition against the Administration of the Government. (But I must refer to the *State Trials* for the Arguments on both Sides.) The Trial having continued ten Hours, Judge *Powell* and Judge *Holloway* declared, They did not perceive any seditious Matter in the Petition; and the Chief Justice *Wright* did not think the Publication of it proved; only Judge *Allibone*, a Roman-Catholic, was of Opinion, That the Petition was a seditious Libel, and proved to have been published. It being now very late, the Court adjourned; and the Jury brought in their Verdict the next Morning, That the Defendants were *Not Guilty*: Which occasioned such Shouting and Rejoicing as had never been known: The People in *London*, and all over *England*, as the News came to them, rung their Bells, and made Bonfires, as for a Victory; and the very Army at *Hounslow-Heath* made the Air ring with their joyful Acclamations; which gave his Majesty no small Uneasiness, being that Day in the Camp: And the King having about the same time ordered Masts to be laid on Board the Fleet, a Mutiny was apprehended among the Seamen, who were with some Difficulty restrained from throwing the Popish Priests over Board. The King, however, to shew his Resentment against

The Bishops acquitted.  
Great Rejoicings.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Clergy  
called to an  
Account  
for not  
reading the  
Declara-  
tion.

gainst Sir *Richard Holloway* and Sir *John Powell*, who had delivered their Opinions in Favour of the Bishops, turned them out of Commis-  
sion; and still pursued his Resolution, to com-  
pel the Clergy to read the Declaration in their  
Churches: To which end the Ecclesiastical  
Commissioners were commanded to issue their  
Orders to all Chancellors, Archdeacons,  
Commissaries, and Officials, to enquire in  
what Churches and Chapels his Majesty's De-  
claration was not read, and to transmit an  
Account of the Defaulters on the 16th of  
*August* following to the Commissioners. But  
when the Day came, scarce any body appear-  
ed; and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who had hi-  
therto been an acting Commissioner, refused  
to sit any longer amongst them; and wrote a  
Letter to the Commissioners, declaring, That  
he could not go on with them any longer;  
and that he would rather suffer with the rest,  
than concur in any Prosecution against those  
who had neglected to read the Declaration.  
Whereupon the Court adjourned, without  
transacting any other Business then, than re-  
newing their Order to all Persons having Ec-  
clesiastical Jurisdiction, to transmit an Ac-  
count to them of the Names of those who had  
not obeyed his Majesty's Commands on the  
18th of *November*. But the King appears to  
have depended much more upon his Army,  
than upon either the Civil or Ecclesiastical  
Courts, for the Execution of his Designs;  
and indeed nothing was more manifest, from  
the constant Tenour of his Words and Actions,  
than that he designed to alter the whole Frame  
of the Government, and to have converted  
this Limited into an Absolute Monarchy; or  
rather, to have compelled the Civil to submit  
to

to the Military Power: Of which his Court-  
 ing the Soldiery to assist him in Forming the  
 People to submit to the Dispensing Power,  
 is an undeniable Instance. He endeavoured,  
 with Abundance of good Words, to persuade  
 both the Officers and Soldiers of the Army  
 to sign a Writing, in which they should en-  
 gage to contribute, to the utmost of their  
 Power, to procure the Penal Laws and Test  
 to be repealed. This was ordered to be pro-  
 posed to every Regiment singly: And the first  
 on which the Experiment was made, was the  
 Earl of *Litchfield's*; to whom the Major hav-  
 ing opened the Matter, and commanded all  
 those who would not comply with his Maje-  
 sty to lay down their Arms; to the King's  
 great Surprize, who was then present, the  
 whole Regiment, except two Captains, and  
 some Popish Soldiers, laid down their Arms:  
 Whereupon the King, after some Pause,  
 ordered them to take up their Arms again;  
 adding, That for the future he would not do  
 them the Honour to ask their Advice; and  
 thereupon dropped this Project, without mak-  
 ing Trial of the rest of his Forces: He found  
 there was nothing to be done without new  
 modelling his Troops, and by Degrees chan-  
 ging the *English* Protestants in his Army for  
*Irish* Catholicks; which he was beginning to  
 do, but had not Time to accomplish. And it  
 is a Question if ever he would have been able  
 to have reformed his Army to his Mind, if  
 we may judge by the Behaviour of the Duke  
 of *Berwick's* Regiment; where the Officers  
 being ordered to recruit their Companies  
 with *Irish*, and a certain Number of that Na-  
 tion forced upon every Captain, Lieutenant-

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Sol-  
 diers tam-  
 per'd with,  
 to force  
 the Nation  
 to submit  
 to a Dis-  
 pensing  
 Power;

which they  
 refuse:

Where-  
 upon the  
 King de-  
 signs to  
 new mo-  
 del his  
 Army.



A.D. 1688

4 Jac. II.

The Officers refuse to recruit their Companies with Irish.

Several of them cashiered.

Forces brought from Ireland and Scotland.

The Prince of Orange invited over.

Colonel *Beaumont*, and four or five Captains more, declared to the Duke of *Berwick*, their Colonel, in the Name of themselves, and the rest of the Officers, That they did not think it consisted with their Honours to have Foreigners imposed upon them; and therefore humbly petitioned they might fill up their Companies with native *English*, or be permitted to lay down their Commissions: Of which an Account being brought to the King at *Windsor*, a Troop of Horse was ordered down to *Portsmouth*, to bring up Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paston*, and four other Captains of that Regiment; it being designed to try them by a Court-Marshal, for endeavouring to incite a Mutiny in the Army: But Advice preparing at the same time, that the Prince of *Orange* was coming to invade the Kingdom, his Majesty was contented with cashiering those Officers, lest he should alienate more of the Soldiery from him, at a Time when he was like to want their Assistance. And as the King found it impracticable to proceed in new modelling the *English* Army, he brought over six Regiments from *Ireland*, on whom he could more entirely depend; and ordered three thousand more to advance out of *Scotland*.

In the mean Time, the Nation being fully convinced of the King's Designs to subvert the Constitution, both in Church and State, as has been observed already, some of the leading Men thought fit to consult the Prince and Princess of *Orange* upon that Occasion; whose Expectations of succeeding to the Crown of *England*, would infallibly have been defeated, if the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom had been

been subdued, and Popery establish'd. Dr. *A.D. 1688*  
*Burnet*, who was then at the *Hague*, relates,  
 That Admiral *Russel* was sent over thither, *4 Fac. II.*  
 by Persons of great Interest and Power in  
*England*, to know positively what might be  
 expected from the Prince: To whom his High-  
 ness answer'd, That if some Persons of the  
 greatest Interest in the Nation, would, in  
 their Names, and the Names of others who  
 trusted them, invite him over to rescue the  
 Nation, and their Religion, he thought he  
 could be prepared for such an Enterprize, by  
 the latter End of *September*; and that upon  
 the Return of *Zuylestern*, the *Dutch* Ambassa-  
 dor from *England*, (who had been sent thither  
 to congratulate the King and Queen upon the  
 Birth of the Prince of *Wales*) the Prince of  
*Orange* received such Assurances and Invitati-  
 ons from *England*, as he desired: And there-  
 upon resolved upon the Expedition, and di-  
 rected the *English* Agents to apply themselves  
 to the States, for their Concurrence. And  
 these Gentlemen, as the Continuers of *Rapin*  
 observe, wanted but very little Persuasion to  
 assist the *English*; They were equally concerned in  
 the Affair with the *English* themselves, as the  
 Ruin of *Holland* would infallibly have follow'd  
 the Slavery of *England*. Of this no Doubt could  
 be made, when the Designs of *Lewis XIV.* and  
 his close Union with *James II.* were consider'd.

The Prince  
 and the  
*Dutch* no  
 less con-  
 cern'd, in  
 point of  
 Interest,  
 than the  
*English*.

Doctor *Burnet*, in his Posthumous History,  
 also observes, That the States went unani-  
 mously into the Enterprize, and lent the Prince  
 Four Millions of Guilders: They were con-  
 vinced, that both their Religion and their  
 Country were in imminent Danger; That if  
*France* and *England* should unite, they could  
 not be able to make Head against them: They

*A.D. 1688.* therefore found it necessary to take England out of the Hands of a Prince who was so firmly ally'd to France; and they received such positive Advices of the Disposition of the People and Army of *England*, to revolt, that there seem'd little Doubt of Success.

The Prince prepares to make a Descent on *England*.

The Prince therefore, without much Hesitation, selected a Body of Nine Thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse, for his Expedition against *England*, and supplied their Places by the like Number of Forces, he borrow'd of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the *Landgrave of Hesse*, and other *German* Princes; ordering, at the same Time, a Fleet of Sixty Sail of Men of War to be equipp'd, and Transports to be provided in all the Ports of the United Provinces, under Pretence of employing them in a Way of Trade. But notwithstanding these Preparations were made with all imaginable Secrecy, it was impossible that so great an Armament should long escape the Notice of the neighbouring Powers. Mr *Bevil Skelton*, the *English* Resident at the *Hague*, grew jealous of the Designs of the *Dutch*, in which he was confirm'd by an intercepted Letter, and thereupon acquainted King *James*, that there was all the Reason in the World to believe, that *England* would suddenly be invaded. But the Earl of *Sunderland* on whom King *James* depended more than on any of his Ministers, seem'd to slight the Intelligence, as coming from a Person not to be rely'd on: And *Skelton* was soon after order'd to leave the *Hague*, and reside at *Paris*. The next Advice King *James* received of the Prince of *Orange's* Design against *England* was from the *French* King, whose Minister at the *Hague*, the Count *D'Avaux*, sent his Master

Of which King *James* receives repeated Advices.

Word



Word, That those Preparations in *Holland* A.D. 1688. were certainly intended against *England*. Mr. *ikelton* also wrote five or six Letters to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Paris*, to be communicated to the King, pressing him to lose no Time in preparing for his Defence; but these Letters *Sunderland* took care to suppress: And notwithstanding the Marquess *D'Albyville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, and Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, both press'd King *James* to be upon his Guard, these Advices were not attended to; which unaccountable Indolence is ascribed to the Artifices of *Sunderland*, and the Finess of the Prince of *Orange*, who continued to express the greatest Duty and Affection for his Father, and even caused the Prince of *Wales* to be pray'd for in his Chappel. Thus King *James* being lull'd asleep, did little or nothing towards recovering the Esteem and Affections of his People, unless his declaring in Council on the 24th of *August*, that he intended to call a Parliament to meet on the 27th of *November*, and ordering the Chancellor to issue out Writs accordingly, on the 5th of *September*.

When the *French* King found that King *James* had no Regard to the repeated Advices he gave him of his Danger, he sent Monsieur *Bonrepos* over to *England*, on purpose to open his Eyes, and to offer him thirty Thousand of his Troops, since his own could not be depended on. To this *Sunderland* answer'd, That the *French* King magnified the Preparations of the *Dutch*, in order to introduce such a Force into *England*, as would make King *James* dependant on him: That the *English* Troops were both able and willing to defeat any Invasion that could be made from *Holland*;

The  
French  
King  
offers King  
*James*  
30,000  
Men.

*Sunderland*  
perswades  
the King  
to refuse  
them.



A.D. 1688

4 Fac. II.

land; and that it would be the most unpopular Thing in the World, at this Time, to introduce an Army of foreign Roman Catholics, especially *French*, whom the Nation dreaded above all others; this would confirm the People in the Report that had obtain'd, that his Majesty had enter'd into an Alliance with *France*, to extirpate their Religion and Liberties.

On the other Hand, there were those in the Council who maintain'd, That the Army, as well as the Nobility and Gentry, were evidently in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest; and that, by refusing foreign Succours, the King expos'd himself to the Power of his Enemies, and would probably be left without Defence. But it was carried, however, not to accept the Forces offer'd by *France*. Thus much, however, the Council seem'd unanimous in, That *Albyville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague* should demand of the States General, What they meant by those warlike Preparations by Sea and Land, at a Time of Year, when all Operations of that nature used to cease? Which *Albyville* did soon after, and was answer'd by the States, That they arm'd in Imitation of his *Britannick* Majesty, and might with more Reason demand an Explanation of the Alliances he had enter'd into with *France*.

A Memorial presented to the States, on their Armament.

Another, by the *French* Ambassador; threatening War, if any thing was attempted against *England*.

Mr. *Skelton*, the *English* Envoy at *Paris*, finding the *French* Forces, that had been offer'd, rejected, propos'd another Expedient to that Court, to save his Master, which was, That the *French* King should threaten the States, in case they attempted any thing against *England*, to invade their Territories, which being approved of, the Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, presented

a Mem-

a Memorial to the States General, on the 9th of *September*, wherein he declared, That his Master being sensible, that the great Armament they were making was intended against *England*, the Ties of Friendship and Alliance between him and the King of *Great-Britain*, would oblige him, not only to assist him, but also to look upon the first Act of Hostility, that should be committed by their Troops, or their Fleet, against his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, to be a manifest Breach of the Peace, and a Rupture with his Crown.

This Resolution of the *French King's* would probably have put an End to the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition, if the crafty *Sunderland* had not prevail'd with King *James* to assure the States, That the *French* Memorial was presented without his Knowledge, and contrary to his Intentions; and that he was ready to enter into an Alliance with the *Dutch* against *France*: Nay, he caused *Skelton* to be sent to the *Tower*, when he return'd from *France*, for exceeding his Instructions. Thus *Lewis XIV.* finding that all his Efforts to save his Ally King *James*, served only to create a Jealousy of him in the Court of *England*, caused the Troops, with which he design'd to make a Diversion in his Favour, to march to the Frontiers of *Germany*, and form the Siege of *Philipsburgh*; which they were no sooner engaged in, but the Prince of *Orange* began to embark his Forces; and the Peninsular *Fagel* own'd to the Marquess of *Albyville*, that they were intended against *England*. King *James* receiving Advice from his Minister in *Holland*, that he must soon expect to see the *Dutch* Fleet upon his Coasts, with a Land Army on board, accompanied by several

*A.D. 1688.*  
4 *Jac. II.*

*Sunderland*  
persuades  
the King  
to re-  
nounce  
any Alli-  
ance with  
*France.*

The *Dutch*  
own their  
intended  
Invasion.  
King  
*James*  
con-  
founded.

A.D. 1688. *ral English Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Distinction, who had hitherto conceal'd themselves there, was perfectly Thunder-struck* neither his Majesty, or his Council, could now propose any possible Means of resisting the Invasion. The Church of *England*, that were the Bulk of the Nation, he knew, look'd upon themselves to be upon the Brink of Ruin and would probably join with the Prince, if they had not call'd him in ; and both the Sea and Land Forces had sufficiently discover'd how jealous they were of the King's Design to subvert the establish'd Religion and Government, and their Resolutions to support the Constitution : However, as there was no other Way left, and very little Time to deliberate, the King resolv'd to throw himself upon the Church of *England*, and by offering to undo all he had been doing for some Years to ruin them, hoped to recover their Affection and Esteem.

Offers to  
restore the  
Clergy and  
People to  
their  
Rights.

The Bishops that were in Town, therefore being summon'd to attend his Majesty, the Bishops of *Winchester, Chichester, Peterborough, Rochester, Ely, and Bath and Wells*, waited on him, to know his Pleasure, and being receive with distinguishing Marks of Favour, his Majesty said, That he had sent for them to desire their Assistance and Advice in the present Exigency, and was ready to do everything they should think necessary for securing of the Protestant Religion, and the People's Rights, without derogating from his own Prerogative ; and desired they would go and consult together on that weighty Affair. Whereupon, having given his Majesty great Assurances of their Duty and Fidelity, and their Readiness to do what he required, the

too



took Leave, and went over to the Archbishop at *Lambeth*, who was then indisposed : And here Ten Propositions were drawn up, to be presented to his Majesty ; and on the 3d of *October*, the same Six Prelates being join'd by the Bishop of *London*, whose Suspension was taken off, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, with the Archbishop at their Head, waited on the King with them. In these Propositions the Bishops advise, 1. That the Government of the several Counties might be put into the Hands of such Noblemen and Gentlemen as were legally qualified. 2. That the Ecclesiastical Commission might be abolish'd. 3. That no Dispensation might be granted, or continued to any Person, to hold any Place or Preferment, who was not qualified for it by Law ; and particularly, that he would restore the Fellows of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. 4. To revoke all Licenses and Faculties, whereby Papists were enabled to teach publick Schools. 5. To desist from the dispensing Power. 6. To inhibit the Four foreign Bishops, who stiled themselves Vicars Apostolical, to invade the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. 7. To fill up the vacant Bishopricks in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of Learning and Piety ; and particularly the Archiepiscopal Chair of *York*. 8. To supersede all Prosecutions and *Quo Warranto's* against Corporations, and to restore them their antient Charters, (as they heard his Majesty already design'd to do for the City of *London*.) 9. That his Majesty would call a Parliament, in which the Church of *England* might be secured, according to the Acts of Uniformity ; a Provision made for a due Liberty of Conscience ; and the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects secured. And

The  
Bishops  
Advice to  
the King.



A.D. 1688

4 Jac. II.

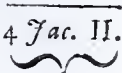
He complies with great Part of it.

10. That his Majesty would permit his Bishops to offer such Arguments as, they trusted, might, by God's Grace, perswade his Majesty to return to the Communion of the Church of *England*, into which most holy Catholick Faith he was baptized, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily Prayer he might be united.

With great Part of which Propositions his Majesty immediately comply'd. The Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, by the King's Order, carried back the Charter of the City of *London*: The Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties were order'd to redress all Abuses and Irregularities in the rest of the Corporations. The Bishop of *Winchester*, Visitor of *Magdalen* College, was order'd to restore the excluded Fellows: A Proclamation issued for restoring the antient Charters to the respective Corporations: The Popish Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and other disqualified Mayors, and Officers in Corporations, were displaced, and those of the Church of *England* introduced in their Stead: And the Bishops, in return, composed Forms of Prayer for the Preservation of the King and Nation from the Dangers of the Invasion, with which they were threaten'd: For the King, on the 28th of *September*, had publish'd a Declaration, setting forth, That he had received undoubted Advice, That a great and sudden Invasion from *Holland* was intended; and though the Pretence was for Preservation of their Religion, Liberties, and Properties, it was manifest, that an absolute Conquest of the Kingdom was design'd, being promoted by some restless Spirits, and Men of desperate Designs, among his Majesty's Subjects:

A Form of Prayer on the Invasion.

The King's Declaration, that a Conquest was intended.



Subjects: That though his Majesty had Notice, that a foreign Force was preparing against him, he always declined any foreign Assistance, chusing to rely on the Fidelity and Courage of his own People, with whom he had often ventured his Life, for the Honour of the Nation, and in whose Defence he was resolved to live and die, and conjured all his Subjects to unite with him in Defence of their native Country; concluding, That he intended to have met his Parliament in *November*, and the Writs had been issued accordingly; but in regard of that strange Attempt, he had been obliged to re-call the said Writs. About the same Time, the King was pleased to publish a general Pardon; which was done chiefly, as some insinuated, to protect his Ministers, in case of a Turn of the Times, lest they should be call'd to an Account for the illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, they had put his Majesty upon.

A Pardon  
publish'd.

And now the King began to prepare in good earnest for his Defence: The Fleet, consisting of about forty Men of War, and twenty Frigates and Fireships, were order'd to wait for the *Dutch* Fleet near *Ostend*, and to destroy their Transports, if possible: Commissions were given to several Noblemen and Gentlemen, to raise new Regiments; and the Command of the Army already on foot, consisting of Thirty Thousand Men, was given to the Earl of *Feversham*: The Militia also were order'd to guard the Sea Coasts, and drive off all the Cattel, on the Approach of the Enemy.

The  
King's  
Preparations  
for his  
Defence.

In the midst of these warlike Preparations, it was thought fit to baptize the Prince of *Wales* (the Pretender) after the manner of

The Prince  
of Wales  
Christen'd.

A.D. 1688

4 Jac. II.

the Church of *Rome*; which was certainly an unpopular Thing, at this time of Day, and did the King more Prejudice among the People, than all his Professions to support the Church of *England*, and protect their Liberties and Properties, could do him Good: Especially when they saw the Pope's Nuncio representing his Holiness, as Godfather to the young Prince: The Queen Dowager stood Godmother; and the Names given the Royal Infant (as he was then call'd) were *James Francis Edward*.

Some Pamphlets appearing about the same Time, which seem'd to question, whether this Prince was really born of the Queen, the King was pleased to call an extraordinary Council upon the Occasion, on the 22d of *October*; and the Queen Dowager, with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that were about Town, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and several of his Majesty's learned Council, attending the Board, by his Majesty's Direction, he was pleased to make a Speech to the Assembly.

Wherein he observes, That the malicious Endeavours of his Enemies had so poison'd the Minds of some of his Subjects, that he had Reason to believe many of them did not think this Son, God had bless'd him with, to be his, but a *supposed Child*; but he might say, by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince ever was born, where there were so many Persons present: That he had taken this Time to have the Matter heard and examin'd there, expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with the first Easterly Wind, would invade this Kingdom; and as he intended to go in Person against him, whereby he might be exposed

posed to Accidents, he thought it necessary to have this done now, in order to satisfy the Minds of his Subjects, and prevent the Kingdom's being engaged in Blood and Confusion after his Death.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

After which, the Lords and Ladies, who were present at the Queen's Delivery, to the Number of Forty and upwards, of which a great Number were Protestants, made Oath of the Queen's being deliver'd of a Prince, whose Depositions were put in Writing; many of them being as full and positive as could be expected. And though it be said by some Writers, that the Queen Dowager only said *she was in the Room when the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince*, it appears, that she, and several of her Women, were at the Bed's Feet when he was born; and she was so well satisfied, that this was the same Child the Queen was deliver'd of, that she stood God-mother to him, as has been observed already: But I refer the Curious to the Depositions themselves, that are in Print, (and still recorded in the High Court of Chancery) for their Satisfaction.

Depositions of the Prince of Wales's Birth.

In less than a Week after this Examination, viz. on the 28th of *October*, happen'd the Disgrace of the political Earl of *Sunderland*, said to be occasion'd by a Discovery Mr. *Skelton* made of the Earl's having conceal'd six or seven Letters that Gentleman had sent to the Secretary's Office from *Paris*, giving an Account of the intended Invasion. His Treachery to the King was also confirm'd by one *Wickstead*, formerly a Monk, who charged the Earl to his Face, before the Council, with revealing his Majesty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*: And it is admitted on all Hands, that

Earl of *Sunderland* disgraced, for betraying the King.



A.D. 1688. that the Countess of *Sunderland* held a constant Correspondence with the Princess of *Orange*, while her Husband was Prime Minister to King *James*. The King reflecting also, that the Earl had first advised his entering into an Alliance with *France*, and then caused him to reject the Assistance of that Crown, when he stood most in need of it, made no doubt, but his Prime Minister had, for some Time, been in the Interest of his Enemies.

I left the Prince of *Orange* embarking his Troops, in order to make a Descent upon *England*; and as Declarations, or Manifesto's, are always thought necessary on such Occasions, to amuse the People, or the neighbouring Powers, and give a Colour to the Expedition, several Draughts of a Declaration, Dr. *Burnet* informs us, were sent over from *England*, to be publish'd by the Prince, at his Arrival; and that these were deliver'd to Pensioner *Fagel*, who out of them made a long heavy Draught, the Doctor says, founded on the Civil Law, and the Law of Nations; which being brought to *Burnet*, to be put in *English*, he procured it to be much shorten'd, though he found *Fagel* very fond of his own Draught. This Declaration set forth, the Violations that had been made on the Laws of *England*; the Proceedings against the Bishops, for petitioning; the Endeavours of the Court to pack a Parliament; and shew'd, that no Parliament could be legal, beause the Writs must be directed to unqualify'd Officers; with some Reasons for suspecting the Queen's Delivery.

The Prince also sets forth, That being sensible of the approaching Ruin, both of the Protestant Religion, and the *English* Constitution;

The Prince  
of *Orange's*  
Decla-  
ration.

A.D. 1688

4 Fac. II.

tution; and being earnestly invited by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, and Men of all Ranks, he resolved on this Expedition to *England*, in order to redress these growing Evils in a legal Parliament, with whom he should concur in all Things tending to the Peace and Happiness of the Nation; and in particular, that he should endeavour to preserve the Church, and procure Liberty of Conscience to the Dissenters; and would refer the Enquiry into the Queen's Delivery, to a Parliament, in whose Determination he should acquiesce. The Prince also wrote Letters to the Soldiers and Seamen, as well as others, to join with him in securing their Religion, Laws, and Liberties. Dr. *Burnet* also drew up a short Paper, wherein he shew'd the Measures of Obedience, and the Justice of the Enterprize; and several Thousand Copies of these were printed, to be dispersed, on their Arrival in *England*: And the Prince desiring the Doctor to go with him as his Chaplain, he readily agreed to it, being fully satisfy'd, that the Undertaking was lawful and just.

This Declaration was printed, in order to be sent to *England*, with another of the same Tenor for *Scotland*; but the Prince receiving Advice, that King *James* had granted most of the Bishops Propositions, and thereby redress'd many of the Complaints mention'd in that Declaration, an additional Manifesto, or Declaration was drawn up; wherein the Prince observes, That the Subverters of their Religion and Laws hearing of his Preparations, had begun to retract some of the arbitrary and despotick Power they had assumed, hoping thereby to quiet the People, and di-

An additional  
Declaration.  
tion.

vert

A.D. 1688

4 Jac. II.

vert them from demanding a Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws, under the Shelter of his Arms; and had given out, that he intended to conquer and enslave the Nation: But he was confident, no Person could think he had any other Design in this Undertaking, than to procure a Settlement of the Religion, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject; (he would have taken those for his Enemies, that should have suggested at this Time, that he had a View to the Crown :) Nor was it to be imagined, that either those who invited him, or those who were already come to assist him, would join in a wicked Attempt of Conquest; (and yet his Chaplain, Doctor *Burnet*, afterwards maintains his Title was Conquest, for which his Book was burnt by the Hangman; so little did the Heroe and his Confessor understand one another, notwithstanding, the Doctor tells us, he was consulted in the Progress of the whole Affair.) The Prince proceeds, and says, He was confident, that all Men saw how little Weight was to be laid on all Promises and Engagements that could be then made; since there had been so little Regard had, in Time past, to the most solemn Promises: That it was plain, there could be no Redress, no Remedy offer'd, but in Parliament, by a Declaration of the Rights of the Subject, that had been invaded: Those pretended Acts of Grace were not to be regarded, to which the Extremity of his Father's Affairs had driven him; and therefore he thought fit to declare again; That he would refer all to a free Assembly of the Nation in Parliament.

The

The States also publish'd their Reasons for assisting the Prince of *Orange* in this Expedition, namely; First, his having been invited over by the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of *England*; and, Secondly, Because the King of *France* had, upon several Occasions, shewn himself dissatisfied with their State; and they apprehended, if King *James* should accomplish his Designs in *England*, and render himself absolute there, both Kings, out of Interest of State, and Hatred of their Religion, would endeavour to bring their State into Confusion, and, if possible, totally to subdue it: (And therefore, when they had rescued themselves from this impending Danger, by removing King *James*, and assisting the Prince of *Orange* to mount the Throne of *Great-Britain*, one would have thought, a less Reward than Six hundred thousand Pounds should have satisfied those High and Mighty Lords for the Trouble they were at.)

But to proceed: The necessary Declarations and Memorials being provided, and the Troops all embark'd, the Prince, on the 16th of *October*, took a solemn Leave of the States, at which he thank'd them for their Assistance, and call'd God to witness, that his *only Aim*, in this Expedition, was the Honour of God, the Welfare of *their Country*, and the Protestant Religion, and therefore he hoped God would bestow his Blessing upon it; and if he succeeded, he should set the States at greater Liberty, free them from the Fear of their Neighbours, and the haughty Tyranny of those who would enslave them: He did not know how God would dispose of him, but if he died in the Enterprize, he desired they would take the Princess into their Protection,

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Reasons given by the States, for assisting the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince takes Leave of the States.



A.D. 1688.

4<sup>th</sup> Jan. II.

He weeps.

The Dutch  
weep.

who was as well affected to that Country, and the Protestant Religion, as he was ; desiring they would remember him in their private Prayers, as he should them ; and then the Heroe wept, till he dissolved the compassionate *Dutchmen* into Tears: But whether they were Tears of Grief, or Joy, every one is left to conjecture as he pleases. The *Macedonian* wept that there were no more Worlds to conquer ; this bold *Batavian*, that three Kingdoms kindly saved him the Hazard of a Conquest, by throwing themselves into his Arms. It cannot be supposed the victorious *William* wept, under an Apprehension of the Danger of the Enterprize: *Danger was his Diversion*: Besides, the States themselves acknowledged, there was no other Danger in the Attempt, than crossing the Sea, which *Dutchmen*, of all People, dread the least. They were sure of a general Welcome on their Arrival at these happy Shores: From whence some are apt to conclude, the Transports of Joy exceeded those of Grief, on this Occasion. But however that was, on the 19th of *October*, the Prince set Sail for *England*, with the *Dutch Fleet*, consisting of about fifty Men of War of the Line, twenty-five Frigates, twenty-five Fireships, and between three and four hundred Victuallers and Transports ; on board whereof were about four thousand Horse, and nine thousand Foot. The Prince embarked on a Frigate of thirty Guns, accompany'd by Count *Nassau* General of the Horse, Count *Solmes* Colonel of the Foot Guards, Count *Stirum*, Mynheer *Bentinck*, Mynheer *Overkirk*, and Mynheer *Zuylesteyn*. In other Ships were several *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen ; of whom the principal

principal were, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord Viscount *Mordant*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lords *Wilshire* and *Pawlet*, the Lord *Elan* Son to the Marquess of *Halifax*, the Lord *Dunblain* Son to the Earl of *Danby*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Henry Herbert*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Russel*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, and Major *Wildman*. The Prince was also attended by Mareschal *Schomberg*, his Son Count *Charles Schomberg*, Monsieur *Caillemote*, and two or three Hundred other French Protestant Officers. A Storm arising from the North-west, the same Night the Fleet sail'd, they were forced back into their Harbours again, but without the Loss of one Ship : However, both the *English* and *Dutch* News Writers were order'd to represent the Fleet to be so shatter'd, as not to be able to put to Sea till the next Spring ; the *Dutch* imagining, that such a Report would render King *James* secure, and negligent of his Defence ; and the King hoped to prevent a Detection, by giving out, the *Hollanders* were disabled.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Prince  
is driven  
back by a  
Storm.

While the *Dutch* Fleet remain'd in their Ports, several of the Prince of *Orange's* Declarations were seized in a Portmanteau of Captain *Langham's*, who belong'd to one of the *English* Regiments, on board the Prince's Fleet, and was sent over to disperse them : These being brought to the King, he took particular Notice of that Expression, where the Prince says, *He was earnestly invited over by divers Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and others* : And thereupon, sending for the Archbishop, and several other Bishops about Town, he demanded of them, what Part of the Prince's Declaration, re-

The  
Prince's  
Declara-  
tions  
seized.

The King  
demands  
of the  
Bishops, if  
they in-  
vited the  
Prince  
over, as he  
declared.

A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

Requires  
them to  
sign an  
Abhor-  
rence of  
the In-  
vasion.

Which  
they de-  
cline.

lating to their inviting him hither, was true? The Bishops, 'tis said, were very cautious in their Answer, and only made general Professions of their Duty and Affection for his Majesty: But the King still insisted, that they should publicly justify themselves, as to *their Part* of the Invitation, and gave them a short Day to sign an Abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange's* intended Invasion; declaring, that his Success depended very much on their complying with this Demand: That a Declaration against the Prince of *Orange* was then in the Press, and was only deferr'd, to have their Paper of Abhorrence inserted in it.

At the Day appointed, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *London*, *Peterborough*, and *Rochester*, attended the King again; and it being demanded, If they had brought the Paper (of Abhorrence)? They desired to be excused from signing any thing of that nature, or of making a particular Defence to a general Accusation, lest it should be look'd upon as a Precedent that affected the Privilege of the Peerage; adding, That as their Profession required them to promote Peace, they thought it did not belong to them to declare War, especially against a Prince so nearly allied to the Crown: Upon which, his Majesty expostulated with them, and press'd them, with the greatest Vehemence, to comply. But they answer'd, As they were join'd with the other Lords Spiritual, and with the Lords Temporal, and Gentlemen of *England*, in the Charge, they ought not to be separated from them in their Justification; desiring that his Majesty would call a Parliament, from which only he could understand the general Sense and true Interest of the Kingdom: And there



hereupon the King left them with great Marks of his Displeasure. A.D. 1688.

In another Account we have of this Transaction, it is affirmed, that the King demanding, If the Bishops were concerned in the Invitation? The Bishop of *London* answered evasively, *Sir, I am confident the rest of the Bishops will as readily answer in the Negative as my self:* And that the next Day, when the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops professed their Innocence, the Bishop of *London* only said, *He had given his Answer the Day before:* That the King thereupon declared, *He believed they were not guilty of the Charge;* but still thought it requisite that some Denial of the Invitation should be published; or at least a Dislike of the Prince's Enterprize, which might be of Service to him: However, they continued positive in their Refusal to the last.

4 Jac. II.

To return to the Prince of *Orange*. The Weather continued so stormy, that it was the first of *November* before his Fleet put to Sea again: When they attempted to sail Northward, intending to land in *Yorkshire* near the Mouth of the *Humber*; but the Wind proving contrary, a Signal was made next Day for standing to the West, a strong Gale blowing full East; which, as it was favourable for the Prince, as Dr. *Burnet* observes, prevented the *English* Fleet coming out of the River. On the third of *November* the Fleet appeared between *Dover* and *Calais*, and came in Sight of the *Isle of Wight* that Evening: The next Day, being the Prince's Birth-Day, he would have landed, apprehending the Soldiers would look upon it as auspicious; but those

The Prince  
sets Sail  
again.



A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

those about him were rather for landing on the fifth of *November*, which they thought might have a better Effect on the Minds of the *English*; and Orders were given not to sail beyond *Dartmouth* in the Night: But the next Day they found themselves passed both *Dartmouth* and *Torbay*; and the Wind continuing easterly, they were apprehensive they should be forced to sail as far as *Plymouth*, and be under the Necessity of undergoing a Winter's Campaign in a very ill Country. Upon which Mr. *Russel* bid Dr. *Burnet* go to his Prayers, he tells us, for all was lost; but on a sudden the Wind shifted to the South, and carried the whole Fleet in four Hours Time into *Torbay*. The Infantry was landed that Evening, when the Doctor made what Haste he could to the Prince's Quarters, he says; and the Prince took him by the Hand, and asked him, *If he did not believe Predestination?* To which he answered, *He could never forget that Providence which had appeared so signally for them*: That all the Troops were no sooner landed, than a great Storm blew from the West, which prevented the Lord *Dartmouth's* pursuing them; and the Dutch Fleet was so covered by the Land, that they received no Damage: The *English* Fleet, on the contrary, was shattered by the Storm, and forced into *Pertsmouth* to refit. This is the Substance of Dr. *Burnet's* Account of the Voyage, who was on Board the Prince's Fleet.

A second Declaration against the Prince of Orange.

The King receiving Advice, That the Prince was landed, published a Declaration, wherein he observes, that notwithstanding the plausible Pretences of the Prince of *Orange*, it

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

it was evident he intended to usurp his Crown, presuming already to take upon him the Regal Stile; requiring the Peers of the Realm, and all others, to obey and assist him in the Execution of his Designs: And a further Proof of his Ambition was, his Questioning the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*; that he seemed indeed desirous to submit all to a Free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the People; but no Parliament could be free while there was an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of the Kingdom: He was therefore the sole Obstructor of such a Free Parliament: That he was determined, as soon as the Kingdom should be delivered from this Invasion, to have a Free Parliament; which could not be liable to the Objection of Not being freely chosen, since the Corporations were restored to their ancient Rights: And concluded, with requiring the Assistance of All his Subjects against his Enemies.

In the mean time the Prince advanced with his Army to the City of *Exeter*, where he arrived on the eighth of *November*: Here he made a Halt till the 15th, before any Person of Note almost came in to him; and the Bishop and Dean fled to *London* as soon as they heard of his Approach: Infomuch that it was debated in a Council of War, whether they should not reembark, and return to *Holland*: But at length Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Colonel *Palmer*, and several other Gentlemen of Quality joining the Prince, he thought no more of returning; but told these Gentlemen, He was come, according to their Invitation, and his own Promise, to protect their Religion and Liberties;

The Prince  
arrives at  
*Exeter*;

is joined  
by Sir *Edm.  
Seymour*,  
&c.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.



ties; and did expect that they who dwelt so near the Place of his Landing would have joined him sooner: Not that it was too late now, or that he wanted their military Assistance, so much as their Countenance and Presence, to justify his declared Pretensions. Concluding in these Words; *Gentlemen, Friends and Fellow-Protestants, We bid you and all your Followers most heartily welcome: Let the World now judge, if our Pretensions are not just, generous, sincere, and above Price. Sure we might have even a Bridge of Gold to return back: But it is our Principle and Resolution, rather to die in a good Cause, than live in a bad one; well knowing, that Virtue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.*

An Association  
signed.

After which, Sir *Edward Seymour* proposing their Signing an Association, the following Paper was drawn up, and signed by all the Gentlemen then present, and by all other Persons of Distinction as they came over to the Prince; *viz.*

“ We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do engage to Almighty God, and to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and with one another to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another in the Defence of it; and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws, and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that they shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and Slavery: And whereas we are engaged in the Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which means his Person is exposed to Danger

AD. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

ger, and to the desperate and cursed Designs of Papists and other bloody Men; we do therefore solemnly engage to God, and to one another, That if any such Attempts be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that made them, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a just Revenge in their Ruin and Destruction; and the executing any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not deprive us from pursuing this Cause we do now undertake; but shall encourage us to carry it on with all the Vigour that so barbarous an Attempt shall deserve.

The Gentlemen of *Devonshire* had not been long at the Prince's Quarters, before they were followed by the Lord *Colchester*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, the Honourable Mr. *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John How Esq*; and after them the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Russel*, Brother to the L. *Russel*, and others, who brought Advice, that the Lord *Cornbury*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Colonel *Langston*, with three Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, were advancing towards *Exeter*, with a Design to join the Prince; but that they were not sure of their Subaltern Officers: Whereupon the Prince sent some Troops to meet them. But when the Lord *Cornbury* was come within 20 Miles of *Exeter*, and within two of that Body, his Design being discovered, almost two of the Regiments left him, and returned to their Quarters: However, he brought one entire Regiment to *Exeter*; and about an hundred of

The Lords  
*Colchester*,  
*Cornbury*,  
&c. with  
some of  
the King's  
Troops,  
revolt to  
the Prince.



A.D. 1688. the other two; which gave the Prince's Adherents great Hopes of Success.

4 Jac. II.

The Lords  
Petition  
and Advice  
to the  
King at  
London.

In the mean time the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about *London*, viz. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Lamplugh*, who had been made Archbishop of *York* on his Retreat from *Exeter*, the Bishops of *St. Asaph*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, *Peterborough*, and *Oxford*; the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Anglesea*, and *Rochester*, the Lord Viscount *Newport*, and the Lords *Paget*, *Chandois*, and *Ossulston*, drew up a Petition to his Majesty; wherein they set forth, That  
 “ in the deep Sense they had of the Miseries  
 “ of a War now breaking out in the Bowels  
 “ of this Kingdom, they did think themselves  
 “ bound in Conscience, and out of the Duty  
 “ they owed to God, their holy Religion, his  
 “ Majesty, and their Country, most humbly  
 “ to offer to his Majesty, That in their Opini-  
 “ on the only visible Way to preserve his  
 “ Majesty and his Kingdoms, would be the  
 “ Calling of a Parliament regular and free in  
 “ all Respects; That therefore they did most  
 “ earnestly beseech his Majesty, that he  
 “ would be pleased with all Speed to call such  
 “ a Parliament, wherein they should be most  
 “ ready to promote such Counsels and Reso-  
 “ lutions of Peace and Settlement, in Church  
 “ and State, as might conduce to his Maje-  
 “ sty's Honour and Safety, and to the quiet-  
 “ ing of the Minds of the People: And like-  
 “ wise they did most humbly beseech his Ma-  
 “ jesty, in the mean time to use such Means  
 “ for preventing the Effusion of Christian  
 “ Blood, as to his Majesty shall seem most  
 “ meet and proper.

This

This Petition was presented to his Majesty *A.D. 1688.*  
 on *Wednesday* the 17th of *November*, by the  
 two Archbishops, and the Bishops of *Ely* and  
*Rocheſter* : To whom he answered, That what  
 they asked him, he himſelf moſt paſſionately  
 deſired ; That therefore he promiſed them,  
 on the Faith of a King, that he would have  
 a Parliament, and ſuch a one as they asked for,  
 as ſoon as ever the Pr. of *Orange* had quitted  
 this Realm : But, in the mean time, it was  
 not poſſible the Parliament ſhould be free,  
 while an Enemy was in the Kingdom, and  
 could make a Return of near a hundred  
 Voices.

The ſame Day the King ſet out for *Salif-*  
*bury*, having firſt ſent for the Duke of *Grafton*,  
 the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Trelawney*, Colonel  
*Kirk*, and other Officers of the Army ; to  
 whom it is ſaid he delivered himſelf to this  
 Purpoſe ; viz. “ According to the Lords Pe-  
 “ tition, I have engaged my Royal Word to  
 “ call a Free Parliament, as ſoon as ever the  
 “ Prince of *Orange* has quitted the Kingdom ;  
 “ and am reſolved to do all that lies in my  
 “ Power to quiet the Minds of my People,  
 “ by ſecuring their Religion, Laws, and Li-  
 “ berties. If you deſire any thing more, I  
 “ am ready to grant it. But if, after all this,  
 “ any of you is not ſatisfied, let him declare  
 “ himſelf : I am willing to grant Paſſes to all  
 “ ſuch as have a Mind to go over to the  
 “ Prince of *Orange*, and ſpare them the Shame  
 “ of deſerting their lawful Sovereign.” At  
 the ſame time his Majeſty recommended the  
 Care of the City to the Lord Mayor ; telling  
 him, he left a ſufficient Number of Troops  
 for their Defence ; That upon any Exigence

The King's  
 Speech to  
 his Officers.

A.D. 1688. he should apply himself to the Privy-Council; assuring him, that if he returned victorious, he would punctually perform what he had already promised, for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.

4 Jac. II.

The King goes to Salisbury.

The King arriving at *Salisbury* the 19th, the next Day the principal Officers of the Army which was assembled in that Neighbourhood, 'tis said, desired the General, the Earl of *Feversham*, to represent to his Majesty, That upon any Occasion they would be ready to spill the last Drop of their Blood in his Service; yet they could not in Conscience fight against a Prince who was come over with no other Design than to procure the Calling of a Free Parliament, for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.

He is deserted by the Duke of *Grafton*, *L. Churchill*, *D. of Ormond*, and the Prince of *Denmark*.

Immediately after, the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, and several other Officers, deserted over to the Prince: Whereupon his Majesty finding there was no relying upon his Troops, after he had published a Proclamation, promising a Pardon to all his Subjects who had taken up Arms, if they would return to their Duty, set out for *London*; but was deserted also on the Way thither by the Prince of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Ormond*: And when he arrived at *Whitehall*, he understood that the Princess of *Denmark* left the Town the Night before.

The King returns to London.

*L. Churchill's* Letter.

The Lord *Churchill*, when he deserted the King, left a Letter behind him; wherein he tells his Majesty, That nothing could have induced him to abandon so indulgent a Prince, but the inviolable Dictates of his Conscience, and a Concern for his Religion; with which nothing ought to stand in Competition.

The

The Prince of *Denmark* also sent a Letter A.D. 1688.  
 to his Majesty at his going off, to excuse his  
 leaving him; and urges his Religion as the  
 only Cause; which, if it was not the most  
 justifiable, would not (he said) be made the  
 most superiour Pretence.

4 *Fac. II.*

The Prince  
 of *Den-*  
*mark's*  
 Letter.

The Princess of *Denmark*, in a Letter she  
 left for the Queen at her Departure from  
*Whitehall*, says, The Prince did not leave the  
 King with any other Design, than to use all  
 possible Means for his Preservation; and that  
 she followed him for no other End: She saw  
 the general Falling off of the Nobility and  
 Gentry, who avowed to have no other End  
 than to prevail with the King to secure their  
 Religion, which they saw so much in Dan-  
 ger by the violent Councils of Priests; who,  
 to promote their own Religion, did not care  
 to what Danger they exposed the King: She  
 was fully persuaded, that the Prince of *Orange*  
 designed the King's Safety; and hoped all  
 things might be composed by the Calling of  
 a Parliament.

The Prin-  
 cess's Let-  
 ter.

The Prince of *Orange* receiving Advice of  
 the King's Return towards *London*, advanced  
 with his Army to *Salisbury*; into which City  
 he made a magnificent Entry, attended by the  
 Prince of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond*,  
*Grafton*, and a fine Appearance of *English*  
 Nobility and Gentry. At the same time the  
 King was informed that the Earl of *Danby*  
 had secured the City and County of *York* for  
 the Prince; the Duke of *Norfolk*, the City of  
*Norwich*; and other Noblemen and Gentle-  
 men, *Bristol*, *Chester*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, &c.  
 and, in short, that the whole Kingdom almost  
 was

The Prince  
 of *Orange*  
 advances to  
*Salisbury*.

Insurrec-  
 tions in his  
 Favour.



A.D. 1638. was in Arms for the Prince, while his own Troops deserted over to him every Day.

4 Fac. II.

The King  
issues Writs  
for a Par-  
liament.

In this Distress the King assembled the Lords about Town, and desired their Advice: Who proposed the Calling a Free Parliament, the Granting a Pardon to those who had joined the Prince of *Orange*, the Deputing some Lords to treat with his Highness, and to dismiss all Papists from Publick Employments: With which his Majesty in a great Measure complied; for on the 28th of *November* he declared in Council, That he would call a Free Parliament to meet on the 15th of *January*; and the Lord Chancellor was ordered to issue out Writs accordingly: Sir *Edward Hales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, being a Papist, was displaced, and succeeded by Colonel *Bevil Skelton*; and the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were sent to treat with the Prince; from whom they obtained several Propositions, the Substance whereof were, That a Parliament should be called; that no unqualified Person should be in Office; that the *Tower* of *London* should be put into the Hands of the City; that the Fleet and Strong Towns should be commanded by Protestants; and that Part of the Publick Revenues should be assigned for the Payment of the Prince's Army; and that neither Army should come within twenty Miles of *London* during the Sitting of the Parliament; but that the King and Prince might be there, or at some little Distance, with an equal Number of Guards: Which Terms, in the Circumstances the King was, were better, it seems, than he expected; and he had determined to comply with them: But the Popish

He sends  
to treat  
with the  
Prince of  
*Orange*.

The  
Prince's  
Proposi-  
tions.

A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

The King  
sends away  
the Queen  
and Prince,  
and at-  
tempts to  
follow  
them.  
His Letter  
to the Earl  
of Fever-  
sham.

Popish Party, dreading nothing so much as the Meeting of a Parliament, where they were conscious they should be rendered incapable of ever having any Share in the Administration again, and perhaps punished for their Attempts to subvert the Government, and the Established Religion, prevailed on the King to leave the Nation, and endeavour to restore himself by the Power of *France*: Whereupon having sent away the Queen and Prince in a dark Night to *Gravesend*, where they embarked for *France*, he followed them himself the next Night in Disguise, accompanied by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and Mr. *Lebadie*: He left a Letter behind him for his General the Earl of *Feversham*; wherein he says, If he could have relied upon all his Troops, he should not have been driven to that Extremity; and would at least have had one Blow for it: But though he knew there were many brave Men in his Army, both Officers and Soldiers, yet he and the other Generals had represented, it was no way advisable to venture himself at their Head, or thinking to fight the Prince of *Orange* with them: He thanked the General therefore, and all the Officers that had been true to him; and hoped they would still retain the same Fidelity, though he could not expect they should expose themselves, by resisting a foreign Army, and a poisoned Nation; and cautioned them, not to enter into any Associations against him.

The King also had ordered all the Writs to be burnt that were issued out for Calling a Parliament; and a Caveat to be entered against making use of those that were out: And

The Writs  
for a Par-  
liament  
recalled.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Great  
Seal  
thrown  
into the  
*Thames*.

The Guards  
declare for  
the Prince.

The Lords  
in *London*  
resolve to  
apply to  
the Prince.

The Lord  
Mayor,  
&c. invite  
the Prince  
to *London*.

And being put off from *Whitehall* in a Boat, he threw the Great Seal into the *Thames*; which was afterwards found by a Fisherman.

The King's being withdrawn was no sooner known, but the Duke of *Northumberland*, by the Advice of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, assembled his Troop of Guards, and declared for the Prince; the Marquis of *Miremont*; Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, did the ſame; and the reſt of the Military Officers about Town, meeting at *Whitehall*, ſent an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the King's going away; and to aſſure his Highneſs, they would aſſiſt the Lord Mayor in keeping the City quiet till his Arrival.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal in *London* and *Westmiſter* aſſembled alſo at *Guildhall*, to the Number of thirty; and, having ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with their Advice, publiſhed a Declaration, where- in they reſolved to apply to the P. of *Orange* to procure a Free Parliament; gave Orders for preſerving the Publick Peace; and taking the Keys from Colonel *Skelton*, Governor of the *Tower*, and gave the Command of it to the Lord *Lucas*; who was confirmed in that Poſt afterwards by the Prince.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* at the ſame time ſent an Addreſs to the Prince, deſiring his Protection; and that he would repair thither; as did alſo the Lieutenantcy of the City: But notwithstanding all the Care that was taken in the mean time to preſerve the Peace, the Mob roſe ſo ſoon as they had Notice the King was gone, pulled down the Maſs-Houſes that had been erected, and burnt their Furniture; and, amongſt others,

demo-



demolished the Houses and Chapels of the *Spanish* and *Florentine* Ambassadors; where they met with a considerable Booty, several *English* Catholics having lodged their Effects there, as in Places of Security: They also seized upon Chancellor *Jefferies* at a House in *Wapping*; where he lay disguised, waiting for a Ship to carry him beyond Sea: He was used very roughly by the People; and being brought before the Lord Mayor, desired to be sent to the *Tower*, to prevent his being pulled in Pieces; which the Mayor gratified him in: But he died not long after, of the Bruises he received, as some relate; though others say he died of the Stone.

But what still encreased the Confusion was, the Earl of *Feversham's* Disbanding the Army on the Receipt of his Majesty's Letter the 11th of *December*: For the Soldiers having no Pay, 'tis said, were forced to use Violence in some Places, to keep themselves from starving; and a House happening to be set on fire in a Village they were plundering, occasioned an unusual Alarm; though others, with more Likelihood, affirm, that it was by the Contrivance of Marshal *Schomberg*: That a Report obtained at one and the same instant all over *England*, on the 12th of *December*, That the *Irish* Soldiers were burning of Towns, and cutting of Throats, every where; and that nothing less than a general Massacre of the Protestants was to be expected: Nor was Death the worst that could happen; Saws, Gridirons, Protestant Bridles, and numberless instruments of Torture, were said to be provided; which made the People at their Wits end: The City was that Night illuminated,

A.D. 1688.

4 Fac. II.

The Mob  
pull down  
the Popish  
Chapels.

Chancellor  
*Jefferies*  
sent to the  
*Tower*;  
where he  
dies.

The King's  
Army dis-  
banded.

The *Irish*  
Alarm.



A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

and every Man in Arms to defend his Family from the cruel *Irish*: But the next Day discovering there were no Grounds for these Fears, the People recovered from their Consternation: And it is generally supposed, this Stratagem was made use of to create in the People a Dread of Popery, and of K. *James's* Administration: Which certainly had its full Effect, if that was the Design, and did more towards preventing the King's Restoration than the Prince of *Orange's* Troops.

The Prince  
arrives at  
*Windsor*.

The King  
stopped at  
*Feversham*.

The next Day the Prince of *Orange* issued his Orders for reassembling the disbanded Troops; and the Lords at *London* published a Declaration of the same Tenour: The Day after which, viz. on the 14th of *December*, his Royal Highness the Prince arrived at *Windsor*; where he received Advice, that the King had been taken in a Vessel near *Feversham*, as he was endeavouring to get over to *France*: The Wind was contrary it seems; and while the Vessel lay near *Feversham*, the People of the Town discovered that Sir *Edw. Hales* was in it; who being a Papist, they suspected he was going over to *France* with a considerable Treasure: Whereupon they went on Board, and searching the Passengers, took away four hundred Guineas from the King, who was in Disguise, with all his Seals, Rings, and Jewels; but a Constable happening to know his Majesty, fell on his Knees, and begged Pardon for the Insolence of the Mob, returning what they had taken from him: However, the King distributed the Gold amongst them, and desired they would permit him to continue his Voyage; but they thought fit to bring him on Shoar: After which the

King

King sending for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, he A.D. 1688.  
 was persuaded by that Nobleman to return 4 Jac. II.  
 to *London*. In the mean time the Peers, hear-  
 ing his Majesty was at *Feversham*, sent down  
 four of their Number, viz. the Earls of  
*Middleton*, *Aylesbury*, *Tarmouth*, and *Feversham*,  
 with a Detachment of the Guards, to attend  
 his Majesty; with whom he returned to *Lon-*  
*don* on the 16th of *December*: The Acclama-  
 tions of the People as he passed the Streets  
 being exceeding great; and the Evening con-  
 cluded with Ringing of Bells, Illuminations,  
 and Bonfires, as for some great Good For-  
 tune; the People beginning to be moved  
 with Compassion for their unfortunate Prince,  
 thought they could do no less, to express their  
 Joy for his Safety.

The King  
 returns to  
*London*;

This News, however, was by no means  
 agreeable to the Court at *Windſor*; for Doctor  
*Burnet* assures us, The Prince of *Orange* had  
 much rather his Father had met with no In-  
 terruption in his intended Voyage; and actu-  
 ally sent Mynheer *Zuyleſtern* to prevent his  
 Majesty's Return to *London*, but that he missed  
 of the King upon the Road.

The King being come to *Whitehall*, began sends the  
 to resume his former Authority; and the Earl of  
 same Night caused an Order of Council to be *Feverſham*  
 published, for Suppressing of Tumults, and to treat  
 Preventing the Demolishing and Plundering with the  
 of Houses, and other Outrages: He also sent Prince;  
 the Earl of *Feverſham* to *Windſor* to the Prince, but the  
 to invite him to *St. James's Palace*, with what Earl is  
 Number of Guards his Highness should think made Pri-  
 convenient, that they might confer together soner.  
 for the Redress of the Grievances complained  
 of; But the Prince, instead of returning any

AD. 1688. Answer to his Father, made the Earl of *Faversham* Prisoner.

4 Jac. II.

The Dutch  
Guards  
take Possession of  
*Whitehall*,  
and turn  
out the  
King's  
Guards.

The King  
goes to  
*Rocheſter*  
with a  
Dutch  
Guard.

The Prince  
arrives at  
*St. James's*.

He adviſes  
with the  
Lords  
about  
Town;

The next Night about Eleven the Dutch Guards took Poſſeſſion of *Whitehall*; and about One the next Morning, when his Majeſty was in Bed, he received a Meſſage from the Prince by the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, requiring him to remove early in the Morning to *Ham*; becauſe his Highneſs intended to be in Town that Day. The King, finding he was no longer regarded as a Sovereign Prince, only deſired he might remove to *Rocheſter* inſtead of *Ham*; which his Highneſs very readily agreed to, believing his Father deſired this, in order to the attempting another Eſcape, which he had no Intention to prevent. The King, therefore, was permitted to go in his own Barge from *Whitehall* to *Graveſend*, and from thence was conveyed by Dutch Troops to *Rocheſter*. The ſame Day the Prince arrived at *St. James's*, and received the Congratulations of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality, on his delivering them from Popery and Slavery; as well as of the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, by their Recorder Sir *George Treby*. And on the twenty firſt of *December* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to the Number of threeſcore and upwards, attending the Prince at *St. James's*, he deſired they would adviſe him how he might in the beſt Manner purſue the Ends of his Declaration, in calling a Free Parliament for the Preſervation of their Religion and Liberties, that they might not be in danger of being ſubverted again: After which his Highneſs withdrew; and the Declaration



claration being read, the Lords voted his Highness their Thanks for his coming over : And that they might the better consider the Ends of his Declaration, resolved to assemble every Day in their House at *Westminster*, and to have the five following Lawyers to advise with ; viz. Mr. Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Holt*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Atkinson*. And it being proposed, That the whole Assembly should sign the Association entered in to at *Exeter*, they all signed it accordingly, except the Duke of *Somerfet*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, and the Bishops, who objected to the Word *Revenge* in the Association, as unchristian ; but this being afterwards changed to that of *Punishment*, they also signed it.

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

who take  
the Asso-  
ciation.

From these Proceedings the King, very naturally concluding that his Subjects never intended he should have any Share in the Administration for the future, withdrew again privately from *Rocheſter*, taking with him only his natural Son the Duke of *Berwick*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and Mr. *Labadie*; and embarking on the twenty third of *December* on Board a Frigate in the River, commanded by Captain *Macdonnel*, he arrived some few Hours after at *Ambleteuse* in *France*; and was received there with the greatest Marks of Friendship and Esteem, large Promises being made him by that Monarch of engaging his whole Forces to restore him.

K James  
goes over  
to France.

King *James* left a Paper behind him, containing his Reasons for withdrawing a second time ; wherein he says, The World could not wonder at his Conduct, after the Prince of *Orange* had made the Earl of *Feverſham* Prisoner,

His Rea-  
sons for it.



A.D. 1688. Prisoner, whom he sent to treat in a friendly Manner with him; and commanding his own Guards to take Possession of *Whitehall* at Eleven at Night, without acquainting him with it; and even sending him an Order at Midnight, when he was in Bed, to be gone: After this he had little to hope for from one who had invaded his Kingdoms, and called the Legitimacy of his Son in Question: Appealing to all that knew him, and even to the Prince himself, if they could believe him guilty of so unnatural a Villany.

4<sup>th</sup> Jac II.

He said, He was born free, and desired to remain so; and for that Reason had withdrawn himself again; but so as to be within Call, whenever the Nation's Eyes should be opened to see, how they had been abused and imposed upon by the specious Pretences of Religion and Property.

The Lords address the Prince to take the Administration upon him,

The Lords being assembled in their House on the twenty fifth of *December*, upon Advice that King *James* had left the Kingdom again, resolved to address the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the Publick Revenues, for the Preservation of their Religion, Liberties, and Properties; and that he would take particular Care of the present Condition of *Ireland*.

and to call a Convention.

They also resolved on another Address to his Highness, That he would send Letters of Summons to all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants; with other Letters to the several Counties, Universities, Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque-Ports, directing them to elect Persons to represent them in Parliament, so as the Persons to be chosen might meet

meet and sit at *Westminster* on the twenty second of *January*, 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>. Which Addresses were signed by about ninety Lords then present in the House, and presented to the Prince: They also made an Order for all Papists to depart from the City of *London*, and not to remove above five Miles from their respective Dwellings.

The Prince of *Orange* also having summoned all such Gentlemen as were Members of Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles II.* with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to attend him at *St. James's* the next Day, being the twenty sixth of *December*; and that the Common-Council would appoint fifty of their Number to be there at the same time; they all assembled accordingly (except the Lord Mayor, who was sick) to whom his Highness made a Speech, desiring their Advice likewise, as to the Calling a Free Parliament, and the Settlement of the Nation. Whereupon this Assembly adjourning to the House of Commons, resolved upon the like Addresses for calling a Convention, and desiring the Prince to take upon him the Administration of the Government, as the Lords had done. To which his Highness answered, That he would endeavour to secure the Peace of the Nation, and issue his Letters for the summoning a Convention; and that he should apply the Publick Revenues to the Uses of the State: And that none might suspect he had any Intention to alter the Established Religion, the Prince went to *St. James's Chapel* on *Sunday* the thirtieth of *December*, and received the Sacrament, according to the Manner of the Church of *England*, of the Bishop

A.D. 1688.

4 Jac. II.

The Members of the late Parliament and the City present the like Addresses to the Prince.

The Prince's Answer.

The Prince receives the Sacrament of the Bishop of London.

*A.D.* 1688. shop of *London*: And the same Day he issued a Declaration, requiring all Officers and Magistrates (except Papists) to act in their respective Offices and Places till the Meeting of the Convention. And thus, at the End of the Year 1688, a Period was put to the Administration of King *James*, if not to his Reign; the Executive Power being lodged in the Prince of *Orange*, by the unanimous Consent of all Parties in the Kingdom: A Revolution which the great Duke of *Ormond* did not live to see. He had been laid aside by King *James*, for his strict Adherence to the Protestant Religion, notwithstanding the important Services he had done the Crown in the two last Reigns; and died on the twenty first of *July*, 1688, in the eightieth Year of his Age.

Duke of  
*Ormond's*  
Death.

*A.D.* 1688<sup>2</sup>. On the second of *January*, 1688<sup>2</sup>, the Prince of *Orange* issued a Declaration, for the better collecting the Publick Revenues: And on the fifth of the same Month, an Order for withdrawing his Troops out of the respective Cities and Boroughs, where they were quartered at the Time of the Electing the Members of the Convention; and another Order, prohibiting all Soldiers quartering in private Houses without the Owners Consent.

The Prince  
of *Orange's*  
Admini-  
stration.

The Prince having summoned the *Scottish* Nobility and Gentry about Town to attend him at *St. James's* the seventh of *January*, acquainted them, That the only Reason that induced him to undergo so great an Undertaking was, the rescuing their Laws, Religion, and Liberties, from the imminent Danger they were in; and desired their Advice

The Prince  
assembles  
the *Scotts*  
Nobility  
and Gentry  
about  
Town.

for



for the Security of them: Whereupon they retired to the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, and drew up an Address to his Highness, entreating him to take upon him the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, and to summon the States of *Scotland* to meet on the 14th of *March*. This Address being signed by thirty *Scottish* Lords, and eighty Gentlemen, was presented to the Prince by Duke *Hamilton* on the ninth instant: Whereupon the Prince returned them his Thanks, and promised to do as they desired him.

*A.D. 1688.*  
The Prince of *Orange's* Administration.

They desire him to take upon him the Administration of that Kingdom.

The Day following his Highness sent a Letter to the City of *London*, desiring them to lend him Two hundred thousand Pounds; with which they complied, and raised it in four Days Time by voluntary Subscriptions; Sir *Samuel Dashwood* alone subscribing Sixty thousand Pounds of the Money. And now the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and seven of his Brethren, having procured some Expressions in the Association to be softened, thought fit to sign it.

The Prince borrows 200.000*l.* of the City.

The true State and Sense of the Nation at this Juncture may be better discovered from a Letter of Dr. *Sherlock's* to a Gentleman elected a Member of the Convention, than from any thing I have met with; which I choose therefore to give the Reader in the Doctor's Words; *viz.*

' *SIR,*

' I hear you are elected a Member of this next Convention; and therefore expect to see you very suddenly in Town.

Doctor *Sherlock's* Letter concerning the State of Things at the Revolution.

VOL. XXIII. C c c

' But



A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

‘ But I can tell you my Mind more briefly  
‘ in Writing; and you may think better of  
‘ it when you see it before you: And there-  
‘ fore I rather chose to give you the Trouble  
‘ of this Paper, than to leave all to a Perso-  
‘ nal Conference at our next Meeting.

‘ I will not dispute with you about what  
‘ is past, or what is to come; it is too late  
‘ to do the first, and for the second, what-  
‘ ever becomes of other Arguments, Interest  
‘ is most apt to prevail: And therefore all  
‘ that I beg of you is, to take Care that you  
‘ do not mistake your own and the Nation’s  
‘ Interest in a Matter of such high Concern-  
‘ ment.

‘ There is no less Affair before you than  
‘ the Fate of Princes, and of Three King-  
‘ doms; which requires the most calm, ma-  
‘ ture, and deliberate Advice: And yet  
‘ when you come to *London*, you will find such  
‘ Distractions and Divisions in Mens Coun-  
‘ sels, that all the threatening Dangers of  
‘ Popery were not a more formidable Pro-  
‘ spect to considering Men; and old Ani-  
‘ mosities are revived, and new ones foment-  
‘ ed, every Day. Some were visibly acted  
‘ by Ambition, others by Revenge. The  
‘ Dissenters are very busy to undermine the  
‘ Church, and the Commonwealth-Men to  
‘ subvert Monarchy; and the Lord have  
‘ Mercy upon us all. I doubt not but you  
‘ will readily confess, that it is the Common  
‘ Interest to have Things settled upon such  
‘ a Bottom as is most like to last; and then  
‘ I am sure you must consult both Law and  
‘ Conscience in the Matter, and keep to the  
‘ old


' old Establishments as near as you can : For *A.D. 1688.*  
 ' when there are so many Distempers in Mens *The Prince*  
 ' Minds, and such contrary Interests, it is *of Orange's*  
 ' no Time to innovate; 'tis no Time to lay *Admini-*  
 ' new Foundations, when there are frequent *stration.*  
 ' Earthquakes, which will not give them  
 ' Time to settle. The Revolutions of State  
 ' have been so quick and sudden of late,  
 ' that all prudent Men will be cautious how  
 ' they try Experiments, which are commonly  
 ' dangerous and uncertain, but especially in  
 ' Matter of Government, which depends  
 ' upon the good Liking of free and moral  
 ' Agents; and when so many hundred thou-  
 ' sands are to be satisfied, you can never guess  
 ' at the prevailing Opinion by the major Vote  
 ' of a Convention.

' Let us then consider what is most likely  
 ' to give the most general Satisfaction to the  
 ' Nation; for that, I'm sure, is most likely  
 ' to be lasting. And because you may be a  
 ' Stranger to these Matters yet, I will give  
 ' you an Account of the different Projects  
 ' now on foot, as well as I can learn them.

' Some are for sending to the King, and  
 ' treating with him to return to his Govern-  
 ' ment, under such legal Restraints as shall  
 ' give Security to the most jealous Persons  
 ' for the Preservation of their Liberties,  
 ' Laws, and Religion; and if he will not  
 ' consent to this, to make the next Heir  
 ' Regent. Others are for declaring the  
 ' Crown forfeited and demised, and pro-  
 ' claiming the Princess of *Orange*. Others  
 ' will have the Government dissolved, and  
 ' begin all *de novo*, and make the Prince of

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.




Orange King, or crown him and the Princess together; and postpone the Title of the Princess *Anne* till after the Prince's Death, if he survive the Princess. I shall not pretend to tell you which of these I should prefer, were it *res integra*; for the Question is not, which you and I should like best, but, which will be the firmest Foundation for the Peace and Settlement of these Kingdoms.

1. And for the first, though it be horribly decried, and such Men foolishly exposed as Friends to Popery and Arbitrary Power; yet I could never meet with any one, who had the Face to reject all Treaty with the King, upon any other Pretence, but, That it was in vain, and, 'Tis impossible he should give any Security to the Nation, That he would govern by Law: Which is so ridiculous a Pretence, that it will satisfy nobody but those who are resolved he should never return. For, as little as I am versed in this Matter, I could frame such Laws as should put it utterly out of the King's Power to invade our Liberties or Religion. However, I am sure we should have thought ourselves very secure, would the King have called a Free Parliament, and given them Liberty to have made what Laws they pleased; and that which would have given such general Satisfaction before, had it been granted, I suspect, should it now be granted, and refused, that should give us general Dissatisfaction: Nay, the very Refusal to treat, will be thought such a scandalous Neglect of our Duty to a Sovereign reign

reign Prince, and give such Jealousies to People, that those who oppose it are only afraid the King should comply, as will be the Foundation of universal Discontents, which will shew themselves upon the first Occasion. It's certain, would the Convention treat with the King, either they would agree, or they would not agree: If they could not agree upon the Proposal of reasonable Securities, this would satisfy Multitudes of People, that they had tried; if they did agree, this would give universal Satisfaction, and there were an happy End of all our Troubles.

*A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>*  
 The Prince  
 of Orange's  
 Admini-  
 stration.



But now let us suppose, that Part of the Convention should prevail which is against Treating with the King, and for Deposing and Setting him aside without any more to do; let us consider what is like to be the most probable Consequence of this.


It is certain, this fundamental Change in the Government cannot be made by any legal Authority; for the Convention will not pretend to any such legal Power: And there can be no Parliament without a King; and a King whose whole Authority depends upon a Convention that has no such Authority, is but in a weak State as to Civil Right. No Man will think himself bound in Conscience to obey him; and when every Man's Conscience is free, let such a Prince beware of epidemical Discontents: And let you and I calmly consider, what Discontents may probably arise upon such a Juncture.

I. First,



A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



‘ I. First, then; All those who think them-  
selves bound by their Oaths of Allegiance  
to defend the King’s Person, Crown, and  
Dignity; who wonder at Men of Law,  
who talk of a Forfeiture or Demise of the  
Crown, while the King lives, and flies out  
of his Kingdom only for the Safety of his  
Person, and because he will not trust him-  
self in the Power of his Enemies: I say,  
all such Persons will be greatly discontented  
at Deposing the King, and will never own  
any other King, while their own King to  
whom they have sworn Allegiance lives:  
And though you should suppose such con-  
scientious Men to be very few; yet if these  
Few should happen to be Persons of Cha-  
racter, of known Prudence and Ability,  
Integrity and Honesty in Church or State,  
their Example would give a tolerable Shock  
to such a new tottering Government, tho’  
they were never so tame and peaceable, void  
of Faction and Sedition, themselves.

‘ And yet, let me tell you, you must not  
judge of the Numbers of those Men by the  
late general Defection: The whole Nation,  
I confess, was very unanimous for the  
Prince; great Numbers of Gentlemen,  
nay of the King’s own Soldiers, went over  
to him; very few but Papists offered their  
Service to the King; but the Reason of  
this was very evident, Not that they were  
willing to part with the King, and set up  
another in his room, but because they were  
horribly afraid of Popery, and very desirous  
to see the Laws and Religion of the Nation  
settled upon the old Foundation by a Free  
Parlia-

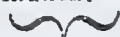
*A.D. 1688.**The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.*

Parliament; which was all the Prince declared for: But many who were Well-wishers to this Design, will not renounce their Allegiance to their King; and now they see what is like to come of it, and are ashamed of what they have done, and ask God's Pardon for it, and are ready to undo it as soon as they can.

2. Besides a thousand Occasions of Discontent, which may happen in such a Change of Government as this, which nobody can possibly foresee, and yet may have very fatal Consequences; there are some very visible Occasions for it, besides the Sense of Conscience and Loyalty. How many Discontents, think you, may arise between the Nobility and Gentry who attend the new Court? Every Man will think he has some Merit, and expect some Marks of Favour; to have his Share of Honour, and Power, and Profit; and yet a great many more must miss than those who speed; and many of those who are rewarded, may think they have not their Deserts, and be discontented to see others preferred before them; and those whose Expectations are disappointed are disobliged too; and that is a dangerous Thing, when there is another, and a rightful King, to oblige; for Duty and Discontent together, to be revenged of a new King, and to be reconciled to an old one, will shake a Throne which has so sandy a Foundation. The like may be said of the Soldiery, who are generally Men of Honour and Resentment, and have the greater and sharper  
Resent-

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



Resentment now, because they are sensible  
of their Mistake when 'tis too late: Yet  
as they ought not to have fought for Po-  
pery, nor against the Laws and Liberties  
of their Country; so neither ought they  
to have deserted the Defence of the King's  
Person and Crown, but have brought the  
Prince to Terms, as well as the King.

Thus you may easily foresee what a  
heavy Tax must be laid upon the Nation,  
to defray the Charge of this Expedition;  
and I believe the Country would have paid  
it very chearfully and thankfully, had the  
Prince restored to them their Laws, and  
Liberties, and Religion, together with their  
King. But you know Men are apt to com-  
plain of every Thing, when Money is to  
be paid; and may be it will be thought  
hard to lose their King, and pay so dear  
for it too. And though what the Con-  
vention does is none of the Prince's Fault,  
no more than it was his Design; but angry  
People do not use to distinguish so nicely:  
But there is a greater Difficulty still than  
all this; there are no Contentions so fierce  
as those about Religion: This gave Life  
and Spirit to the Prince's Designs, and had  
the main Stroke in this late Revolution;  
and though Popery were a hated Religion,  
yet most Men are as zealous for their own  
Religion as they are against Popery: Those  
of the Church of *England* who are very glad  
to get rid of Popery, will not be contented  
to part with their Church into the Bargain;  
for this would be as bad as they could have  
suffered under Popery. The several Sects  
of

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

of Dissenters are glad to get rid of Popery also; but now they expect glorious Days for themselves; and what they expect God Almighty knows, for I am confident they do not know themselves. Now consider how difficult it will be for any Prince, who has but a crazy Title to the immediate Possession of the Crown, to adjust this Matter, so as neither to disgust the Church of *England*, nor the Dissenters; and if either of them be disobliged, there is a formidable Party made against him. This being the Case, should the King be deposed, and any other ascend the Throne, it will be necessary for them to keep up a Standing Army to quell such Discontents; for where there are and will be Discontents, without any Tye of Conscience to restrain Men, there can be no Defence but only in Power: And this will raise and encrease new Discontents; for it alters the Frame of our Constitution from a Civil to a Military Government; which is one of the great Grievances we have complained of: And I believe *English* People will not be better pleased with *Dutch*, or *German*, or any foreign Soldiers, than they were with their own Countrymen; and I believe *English* Soldiers will not be extremely pleased to see themselves disbanded, or sent into other Countries to hazard their Lives, while their Places are taken up by Foreigners, who live in Ease, Plenty, and Safety. And when Things are come to this Pass, which is so likely, that I cannot see how the Wit of Man can prevent it, I shall suppose but



A.D. 1688<sup>g</sup>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

but one Thing more, which you will say is not unlikely, that the King return with a foreign Force to recover his Kingdoms. How readily will the Men of Conscience and the Men of Discontent be to join him nay, to invite him home again? And then if he returns a Conqueror, you will wish when it is too late, that you had treated with him, and brought him back upon safe and honourable Terms.

Secondly, Let us suppose now, That all this should be over-voted (for I am sure it can never be answered) and the Convention should resolve to proclaim the next Heir.

1. You must be sure to examine well who is the next Heir; that is, You must thoroughly examine the Pretences of the Prince of *Wales*; and if you have not good Proof of the Imposture, you had better let it alone: For though the Nation has had a general Presumption of it, yet a Male Heir of the Crown is mightily desired; and People would be very fond of him, if they had one; and seem to expect better Proofs than mere Presumptions against him; because common Fame has promised a great deal more: And if you should either say nothing to it, or not what is expected, it would be a very plausible Pretence for discontented People to quarrel.

2. Suppose the Princess of *Orange* should appear to be the next Heir; What if a Lady of her eminent Virrue should scruple to sit upon her Father's Throne while he lives? Or what if she should scruple it

here-

hereafter, and place her Father in his Throne again? This is not impossible; for Virtue is greater than a Throne. For my part, I think you will put a very hard Thing upon so excellent a Lady; and I pray God give her Grace to resist the Temptation. A Regency is more tolerable; because a Nation must be governed; and none so proper to govern it as the next Heir. But I should think none who expect to wear a Crown, should countenance Subjects in deposing their King; nor accept of a Crown upon such Terms, as to take it off of a Father's Head. It is a dangerous Thing for a Prince who has a Title to the Crown, to own that the Crown may be forfeited and demised by such a Withdrawing: If this be not so, the Princess has no Right to the Possession of the Crown yet; and if it be so, her Crown is worth a great deal less than formerly it was; especially if she own this Secret, by accepting the Crown, which her Ancestors always concealed, and which the best Subjects of *England* would not believe before; what they may do after this, I know not.

3. The next Design (I verily believe without the Thought or Knowledge of the Prince, who has too great a Mind to think of any thing which, in the Opinion of any wise Man, could stain and sully his Glory) is, To give the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*; for it must be a Gift, if any thing, for he has no immediate Title to it that I know of. This is upon a Pretence that the Government is dissolved; and

A.D. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange's* Administration.

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

therefore we must begin *de novo*; which is very ridiculous, when the King is still alive, and the Laws in as full Force as ever; only the regular Administration of the Government at present interrupted by the King's Absence. But this is not the worst of it, for 'tis a dangerous Pretence too; especially to Men of Quality and Estates, as you are: For if the Government be dissolved, our Laws are dissolved, and Honour and Property dissolved with them; and then I doubt the Mobile will come in for their Share in the new Division of the Lands, and set up for Men of as good Quality as any: For if our Laws are gone, we return to a State of Nature, in which all Men are equal, and all Things common. This I believe you'll not be for, for that Reason above mentioned.

' If then the Laws continue, the Government is not dissolved; and the Crown is not a Gift, but an Inheritance still, as much as your Estate: And then the Pr. of *Orange* cannot have it in his own Right; because his own Princess and the Princess *Anne* are before him. Consider then what the Consequence of the Project would be.

' 1. This alters the essential Constitution of the *English* Government, by changing an Hereditary into an Elective Monarchy; a Thing which I know some Men are very fond of; for even the next Occasion they can find to quarrel with their Prince, they may with as much Ease turn it into a Commonwealth: For when the Crown is at the

People's

People's Disposal, they may, if they please, *A.D. 1688*  
keep it to themselves.

2. This will entangle all Men of Con-  
science in new Difficulties; for the Oath  
of Allegiance does not only bind us to the  
King, but to his Heirs and Successors:  
Which must be understood of the next li-  
neal Heir, where there is no Authority to  
alter it; and whatever a Parliament may  
be thought to have with the Authority and  
Consent of the King, no Man pretends,  
that a Convention of the States has any le-  
gal Authority to do it. I should be as  
heartily glad as any Man, to see the Prince  
of *Orange* legally settled on the *English*  
Throne: But these are Difficulties I can-  
not break through. Thus I have given you  
my Thoughts, and pray God to direct you.

The Prince  
of *Orange's*  
Admini-  
stration.

*I am yours.*

These were the Thoughts of the Doctor,  
and a great many wise Men at that Time.  
But it appears he lived to alter his Mind in  
several Particulars; and to take the Oaths,  
and accept of Preferment under *K. William*,  
even while *K. James* was living. I proceed,  
in the next place, to give an Account of the  
Arguments that were used in the Debate  
concerning the Abdication and Vacancy of  
the Throne in the Convention; in which I  
am not conscious I have omitted any thing  
material; though several Speeches and Parts  
of Speeches are left out: For as they consist-  
ed chiefly of Repetitions of what is here in-  
serted, or of Things which did not affect the  
prin-



A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

The Con-  
vention  
meet.  
The Reso-  
lution of  
the Com-  
mons,  
concerning  
the Abdi-  
cation, and  
Vacancy  
of the  
Throne.  
The Lords  
offer  
Amend-  
ments ;  
which the  
Commons  
reject, and  
give their  
Reasons.

principal Matters in Debate, the Reader would rather have been wearied than instruct-  
ed by them.

The Convention meeting at the Day appointed, (*viz.* the 22d of January) the House of Commons agreed upon this Resolve, *viz.* *That King James II. having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People ; and by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government ; and that the Throne is thereby vacant.* This Resolution was carried up to the Lords, for their Concurrence: To which their Lordships were pleas'd to concur, with these Amendments; That instead of the Word *Abdicated*, *Deserted* should be inserted, and the last Paragraph, *viz.* *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*, should be wholly left out. The House of Commons would not admit of these Amendments, but sent to the Lords, to desire a Conference upon the Subject-matter of the said Amendments; which being agreed to by the Lords, a Committee was appointed to manage the Conference with them, who communicated to their Lordships the Reasons of the Commons in not concurring to their said Amendments. As to the first, they said, the Word *Deserted* did not fully express the Conclusion necessarily inferr'd from the Premises, which their Lordships had agreed; for they had agreed that King *James II.* had endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People, and had violated the fundamental Laws, and with-  
drawn

drawn himself out of the Kingdom. Now, *A.D. 1688*<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>  
 the Word *Deserted* (as the Commons argued) respected only the Withdrawing, but the  
 Word *Abdicated* respected the Whole; for The Prince  
 of Orange's  
 Administration.  
 of it.

And for the Commons not agreeing to the second Amendment, to leave out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*, the Committee, according to their Instructions, insisted upon the following Reasons.

First, Because they conceived that they might well infer, from so much of their own Vote as their Lordships had agreed to, that King *James II.* had abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant; so that if they would admit their Lordships Amendments, that he had only deserted the Government, yet even thence it would follow, that the Throne was vacant, as to King *James II.* Deserting the Government being, in true Construction, Deserting the Throne. Secondly, The Commons conceived, that they needed not to prove unto their Lordships, that as to any other Person, the Throne was also vacant; their Lordships having (as they conceiv'd) already admitted it, by their Addressing to the Prince of *Orange*, the 20th of *December* past, to take upon him the Administration of publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and to take into his Care the Kingdom of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of this Convention, in pursuance of such Letters; and by their Lordships renewing the same Address to his Highness (as to publick Affairs, and the Kingdom of *Ireland*) since they met; and by appointing Days of publick Thanksgivings  
 to

A.D. 1688<sup>g</sup>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



to be observed through the whole Kingdom : All which the Commons conceived to imply, That it was their Lordships Opinion, that the Throne was vacant, and to signify so much to the People of this Kingdom. Thirdly, It is from those who are upon the Throne of *England* (when there are any such) from whom the People of *England* ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cause, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects: But there being none now, from whom they expect regal Protection, and to whom, for that Cause, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceived the Throne vacant.

On the other Hand, the Earl of *Nottingham*, according to Mr. *Hampden's* Report, spoke to this Effect.

Earl of  
*Notting-  
ham* gives  
their Lord-  
ships Rea-  
sons for  
adhering  
to their  
Amend-  
ments.

That the Lords had desired this Conference, that they might be as happily united to the Commons in Opinion, as they were inseparable in their Interests ; and that they were at this Time, uneasy, that they could not concur with the Commons in every thing.

That the Lords did insist upon the first Amendment ;

*First*, Because the Lords do not find, that the Word *Abdicated* is a Word known to the Common Law of *England* ; and the Lords hope the Commons will agree to make use of such Words only, whereof the Meaning may be understood according to Law, and not of such as will be liable to doubtful Interpretations.

*Secondly*, Because in the most common Acceptation of the Civil Law, Abdication is a voluntary express Act of Renunciation ; which is not in this Case.

He





He said, The Lords did insist on the second Amendment, to leave out the Words, *And the Throne is thereby vacant*, for this Reason ;

For that altho' the Lords have agreed, that the King has deserted the Government, and therefore have made Application to the Prince of *Orange*, to take upon him the Administration of the Government, and thereby to provide for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom ; yet there can be no other Inference drawn from thence, but only that the Exercise of the Government, by King *James II.*, is ceased ; so as the Lords were and are willing to secure the Nation against the Return of the said King into this Kingdom ; but not that there was either such an Abdication by him, or such a Vacancy in the Throne, as that the Crown was thereby become elective, which they cannot agree.

1. Because by the Constitution of the Government, the Monarchy is Hereditary, and not Elective.

2. Because no Act of the King alone can bar or destroy the Right of his Heirs to the Crown ; and therefore, in Answer to the third Reason alledged by the House of Commons, if the Throne be vacant of King *James II.*, Allegiance is due to such Person, as by the Right of Succession it doth belong to.

The Question being put, That the House do agree with the Lords in the first Amendment, it was pass'd in the Negative.

The Question being put, that the House do agree with the Lords in the second Amendment, the House divided. The Yea's go forth. The Tellers for the Yea's, Sir *J. Tredenham*, and Mr. *Gwyn*, 151. The Tellers for the No's, Mr. *Colt*, and Mr. *Herbert*, 282. And so it was resolved in the Negative.



A.D. 1688 $\frac{8}{9}$ *Resolved,*

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

That a free Conference be desired with the Lords, upon the Subject-Matter of the last Conference.

*Ordered,*

A free  
Confe-  
rence de-  
sired.  
Managers  
for the  
Commons  
at the  
Confe-  
rence.

That it be referr'd unto Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Paul Foley*, Mr. Sergeant *Maynard*, Mr. Sergeant *Holt*, Lord *Faulkland*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Sommers*, Mr. *Garraway*, Mr. *Boscarwen*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Sacheverel*, Major *Wildman*, and Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Ayres*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Mr. *Waller*, Sir *John Guise*, to manage the Conference.

*Ordered,*

That Mr. *Dolben* do go up to the Lords, and desire a free Conference with the Lords, upon the Subject-matter of the last Conference.

Mr. *Dolben* reported, That he having (according to the Order of this House) attended the Lords, to desire a free Conference with their Lordships, upon the Subject-matter of the last Conference, they had agreed to a free Conference presently in the Painted Chamber; and the Managers went to a free Conference in the Painted Chamber, which was open'd by Mr. *Hampden*, with the following Speech.


The Con-  
ference  
open'd.

Mr. *Hampden*. ' My Lords, the Commons  
' have desired this free Conference from your  
' Lordships upon the Subject-matter of the  
' last Conference, that they make appear unto  
' your Lordships, that it is not without suffi-  
' cient Reason, that they are induced to main-  
' tain their own Vote, to which your Lord-  
' ships have made some Amendments, and to  
' which they cannot agree,

; It

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



' It is true, my Lords, the present Difference between your Lordships and the Commons, is only about a few Words; but the Commons think their Words so significant to the Purpose to which they are used, and so proper to the Case unto which they are applied, that in so weighty a Matter as that now in Debate, they are, by no Means, to be parted with.

' The Word *abdicated*, the Commons conceive, is of larger Signification than the Word your Lordships are pleased to use, desert; but not too large to be applied to all the Recitals in the Beginning of the Commons Vote, to which they meant it should be applied: Nor ought it to be restrain'd to a voluntary express Resignation only, in Word or Writing: Overt-Acts there are, that will be significant enough to amount to it.

' My Lords, That the Common Law of *England* is not acquainted with the Word, it is from the Modesty of our Law, that it is not willing to suppose there should be any unfortunate Occasion of making use of it: And we would have been willing, that we should never have had such an Occasion as we have to have Recourse to it. Your Lordships next Amendment is, That your Lordships have left out the last Words in the Commons Vote, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*.

' My Lords, The Commons conceive it is a true Proposition, That the Throne is vacant, and they think to make it appear, that this is no new Phrase; neither is it a Phrase that the old Records are Strangers to, nor is it chargeable with the Consequences that your Lordships have been pleased to draw

A.D. 1688<sup>9</sup>The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

from it, that it will make the Crown of  
*England* become Elective. If the Throne  
 had been full, we know your Lordships  
 would have assign'd that as a Reason of your  
 Disagreement, by telling us who fill'd it;  
 and it would be known by some publick  
 Royal Act, which might notify to the People  
 in whom the Kingly Government resided;  
 neither of which has been done, and yet  
 your Lordships will not allow the Throne  
 to be vacant.

Earl of *Nottingham*. ' Gentlemen, You of  
 the Committee of the Commons, we differ  
 from you, indeed, about the Words *abdicated*  
 and *deserted*, but the main Reason of the  
 Change of the Word, and Difference, is up-  
 on the Account of the Consequence drawn  
 in the Conclusion of your Vote, That the  
 Throne is thereby vacant. What do the  
 Commons mean by that Expression? Do  
 you mean it is so vacant as to null the Suc-  
 cession in the Hereditary Line, and so all  
 the Heirs to be cut off? Which we say  
 will make the Crown Elective: And it may  
 be fit for us to settle the Matter first, and  
 when we know what the Consequence of the  
 Throne being vacant means, in the Vote,  
 as you understand it, I believe we shall be  
 much better able to settle the Difference  
 about the two Words.

Bishop of *Ely*. ' Gentlemen, The two  
 Amendments made by the Lords to the  
 Vote of the Commons, are, as to the Word  
*abdicated*, and as to the Vacancy of the  
 Throne. That Abdication may be tacitly  
 by some Overt-Acts, is very truly alledged  
 out of *Grotius*: But I desire to know  
 whether *Grotius*, that great Author, in treat-  
 ing

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

ing on this Subject, doth not interpose this  
Caution: "If there be a yielding to the  
Times, if there be a going away, with a  
Purpose of seeking to recover what is, for  
the present, left, or forsaken: In plain  
*English*, if there were any thing of Force,  
or just Fear, in the Case, that doth void  
the Notion of Abdication."

The Objection of the Lords against the  
Word *abdicated* is, that it is of too large a  
Signification for the Case in Hand. It  
seems to be acknowledged, that it reacheth  
a great Way, and therefore the Lords would  
have a Word made use of, which signifieth  
only the Ceasure of the Exercise of a Right:  
If there be such a Defect as hath been  
spoken of, it must be supply'd, there is no  
Question of that: And I think we have,  
by another Vote, declared, that it is in-  
consistent with our Laws, Liberties, and  
Religion, to have a Papist to rule over this  
Kingdom; which I take to be only as to  
the actual Exercise and Administration of  
the Government.

It is *Grotius's* Distinction between a Right,  
and the Exercise of that Right: And as  
there is a natural Incapacity for the Exer-  
cise, as Sicknes, Lunacy, Infancy, doating  
old Age, or an incurable Disease, rendring  
the Party unfit for human Society, as Le-  
prosy, or the like; so, I take it, there is a  
moral Incapacity, and that I conceive to  
be a full, irremoveable Persuasion in a false  
Religion, contrary to the Doctrine of Chri-  
stianity; then there must be a Provision un-  
doubtedly made, for supplying this Defect  
in the Exercise, and an intermediate Go-  
vernment taken care for, because 'tis be-  
come



A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

come necessary for the Support of the Government, if he, to whom the Right of Succession doth belong, makes the Exercise of his Government unpracticable, and our Obedience to him, consistently with the Constitution of our Religion, impossible : But that, I take it, doth not alter the Right, nor is an Abdication of the Right.

‘ It seems, the Commons do not infer he abdicated, from his withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom ; for then deserted would (no doubt) have answer’d their Purpose : But Abdication is the same, whether a Man go out of the Kingdom, or stay in it ; for it is not to be esteem’d according to the Place, but the Power. If a Man stays in the Kingdom, this is *Abdicare*, with a Preposition to *abdicate* the Exercise of the Government, but not the Right of governing according to the Constitution ; and to such an Abdication (if it be so declared) my Lords, I believe, may soon agree. Then, Gentlemen, there is another Distinction in those Authors that have writ concerning this Point, which are chiefly Civilians : There may be an Abdication that may forfeit the Power of a King only, and there may be one that may forfeit both that and the Crown too : It is a Distinction in other Words, but to the same Sense : I will tell you presently, why I use it.

‘ Those Abdications that are of Power only, are Incapacities ; whether those I call natural, and involuntary, as Defects of Sense, Age, or Body, or the like ; or moral and voluntary, as Contrariety in Religion ; an Instance whereof, there was lately in

‘ *Por-*

' *Portugal*, which was a Forfeiture only of the *A.D. 1688*  
 ' Power, and not of the Name and Honour  
 ' of a King; for though the Administration *The Prince*  
 ' was put into the younger Brother's Hand, *of Orange's*  
 ' the Patents, and other publick Instruments, *Admini-*  
 ' ran in the elder Brother's Name. This is, *stration.*  
 ' without all doubt, naturally an Abdication,  
 ' in the full Extent of the Word: Nor do  
 ' I here (as I said) consider, whether that  
 ' the King be gone out of the Kingdom,  
 ' or stay in it, but only whether he be fit for  
 ' the Administration, which must be provided  
 ' for, be he here, or gone away.

' But the highest Instance of an Abdicati-  
 ' on, is when a Prince is not only unable to  
 ' execute his Power, but acts quite contrary  
 ' to it, which will not be answer'd by so bare  
 ' a Word as Endeavour. I take these to be  
 ' all the Distinctions of Abdication: Now if  
 ' this last Instance of an Abdication of both  
 ' Power and Right, take Place in a succeed-  
 ' ing Monarchy, the Consequence will be,  
 ' that there is a Forfeiture of the whole Right,  
 ' and then that Hereditary Succession is cut  
 ' off; which, I believe, is not intended by  
 ' the Commons. There is, indeed, one In-  
 ' stance of the Use of such an Abdication in  
 ' Monarchy, and that is that of *Poland*, and  
 ' such an Abdication there, makes the Throne  
 ' vacant; and those with and in whom the  
 ' Power is invested of making Laws, (to wit,  
 ' the Senate) appoint one to fill it. But  
 ' that, and whatever other Instances there  
 ' may be of the like kind, they are all of  
 ' Elective Kingdoms; for though some of  
 ' them are, or may be in Kingdoms now He-  
 ' reditary, yet they were, in those Times,  
 ' Elective,

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

Elective, and since alter'd into Hereditary Successions.

‘ But here is one Thing that is mention’d in this Vote, which I would have well consider’d, for the Preservation of the Succession, and that is the Original Compact. We must think, sure, that is meant of the Compact that was made when the Government was first instituted, and the Conditions that each Party of the Government should observe on their Part, of which this was the most fundamental, That King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, should have the Power of making new Laws, and altering of old ones; and that being one Law, which settles the Succession, it is as much a Part of the Original Compact as any: Then, if such a Case happens, as an Abdication in this successive Kingdom, without doubt, the Compact being made to the King, his Heirs and Successors, the Disposition of the Crown cannot fall to us, till all the Heirs do abdicate too. There are, indeed, many Examples, and too many Interruptions in the Lineal Succession of the Crown of *England*: I think I can instance in Seven since the Conquest, wherein the right Heir hath been put by: But that doth not follow, that every Breach of the first Original Contract gives us Power to dispose of the lineal Succession; especially, I think, since by the Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James I.*, that have establish’d the Oath of Allegiance to the King, his Heirs and Successors, the Law is stronger against such a Disposition. I grant, that from King *William I.* to King *Henry VIII.*

there

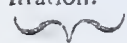
there have been seven Interruptions of the legal Line of Hereditary Succession : But I say, these Statutes are made since that Time, and the making of new Laws being as much a Part of the Original Compact, as the observing old ones, or any thing else, we are obliged to pursue those Laws, 'till alter'd by the Legislative Power ; which, singly or jointly, without the Royal Assent, I suppose, we do not pretend to : And these Laws being made since the last Interruption, we are not to go by any Precedent that was made before the making those Laws ; so that all I conceive ought to be meant by our Vote, is but a setting aside the Person that broke the Contract ; and in a successive Kingdom, an Abdication can only be a Forfeiture as to the Person himself.

A.D. 1688 $\frac{2}{9}$ .  
The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

I hope, and am persuaded, that both Lords and Commons do agree in this, not to break the Line of Succession, so as to make the Crown elective. And if that be declared, That this Abdication of King *James II*, reacheth no farther than himself, and that it is to continue in the right Line of Succession, that I hope will make all of one Mind in this important Affair.

Earl of *Clarendon*. ' It is said, that Abdication doth imply a perfect Renunciation ; which I cannot see how it is in this Case, so as to leave us at Liberty to supply as we please, and break the Line of Succession. Mr. Sergeant *Maynard* says, That it is not indeed to make the Government *perpetually* Elective : I would know what he means by perpetually. Our breaking through the Line now, by a Choice out of the Lineal Course,



A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

is an Alteration, and a Precedent; And why may not others take the same Liberty we do? And will not that make it perpetually Elective?

But truly, I think no Act of ours can alter the Lineal Succession; for, by all the Laws we have now in being, our Government appears to be Hereditary, in a right Line of Descent; and upon any Descent, when any one ceaseth to be King, Allegiance is by Law due to the legal Heirs, as well before Coronation, as after. I was in great Hopes, that you would have offer'd something in Answer to one of my Lord's Reasons against that Part of the Vote, which declares the Throne to be vacant; That no Act of the King's alone can bar or destroy the Right of his Heir to the Crown, which is Hereditary, and not Elective. And then, if this Matter goes no farther than King *James II*, in his own Person, how comes the Vacancy, and the Supply, to be devolved upon the People? For if he only be set aside, then it is apparent, whether the Crown is to go; to the Person that hath the next Right of Succession, and consequently there is no Vacancy.

Sir *George Treby*. 'It being granted, That a King may renounce, may resign, may part with his Office, as well as the Exercise of it; then the Question is indeed, Whether this King hath done so, or no? That he may do it, I take it for granted, it being an Act of the Will. Then let us now enquire into the Facts, as set out in the Vote, whether this Will of his be manifest; for that you have heard it may be

dis-

‘ discover’d several Ways: The Discovery *A.D. 1688.*  
 ‘ may be by Writing; it may be by Words; *The Prince*  
 ‘ it may be by Facts. *Grotius* himself, and all *of Orange’s*  
 ‘ Authors that treat of this Matter, and *Admini-*  
 ‘ the Nature of it, do agree, That if there *stration.*  
 ‘ be any Word or Action, that doth suffici-  
 ‘ ently manifest the Intention of the Mind  
 ‘ and Will, to part with his Office, that  
 ‘ will amount to an Abdication, or renouncing.

‘ Now, my Lords, I beg Leave to put this  
 ‘ Case; That had King *James II.*, come here  
 ‘ into the Assembly of Lords and Commons,  
 ‘ and express’d himself in Writing, or Words,  
 ‘ to this Purpose; *I was born an Heir to the*  
 ‘ Crown of England, which is a Government li-  
 ‘ mited by Laws made in full Parliament, by  
 ‘ King, Nobles, and Commonalty, and upon the  
 ‘ Death of my last Predecessor, I am in Possession  
 ‘ of the Throne: And now I find I cannot make  
 ‘ Laws without the Consent of the Lords, and  
 ‘ Representatives of the Commons, in Parliament;  
 ‘ I cannot suspend Laws that have been so made,  
 ‘ without the Consent of my People. This, indeed,  
 ‘ is the Title of Kingship I hold by Original Con-  
 ‘ tract, and the fundamental Constitutions of the  
 ‘ Government; and my Accession to, and Possession  
 ‘ of the Crown on these Terms, is Part of that  
 ‘ Contract: This Part of the Contract I am weary  
 ‘ of; I do renounce it; I will not be obliged to  
 ‘ observe it: Nay, I am under an invincible Obli-  
 ‘ gation not to comply with it; I will not execute  
 ‘ the Laws that have been made, nor suffer others  
 ‘ to be made, as my People shall desire, for their  
 ‘ Security in Religion, Liberty, and Property,  
 ‘ which are two main Parts of the Kingly Office  
 ‘ in this Nation: I say, suppose he had so  
 ‘ express’d himself, doubtless, this had been

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

a plain Renouncing of that legal, regular  
 Title, which came to him by Descent. If  
 then he, by particular Acts, such as are  
 enumerated in the Vote, has declared as  
 much, or more than these Words can amount  
 to, then he hath thereby declared his Will  
 to renounce the Government; he hath, by  
 these Acts mention'd, manifestly declared,  
 that he will not govern according to the  
 Laws made: Nay, he cannot so do; for  
 he is under a strict Obligation, (yea, the  
 strictest, and superior to that of the original  
 Compact between King and People,) to act  
 contrary to the Laws, or to suspend them.  
 By the Law, he is to administer Justice,  
 and to execute his Office according to the  
 Tenor of those Laws, and the Coronation  
 Oath obligeth him likewise to consent to  
 such Laws as the People shall chuse: But, on  
 the contrary, by that unfortunate Persuasi-  
 on, (in point of Religion) that he hath  
 embraced, he is obliged to suspend the Laws  
 that defend the establish'd Religion, and  
 to treat it as it has been (we well know)  
 call'd, the Northern Herefy, and, under  
 pain of Damnation, to extirpate it; and,  
 in order to it, did set aside, and repeal  
 all the legal Fences of it, without Consent  
 of Parliament. What the Endeavours and  
 Practices of that kind have been in the last  
 Reign, I suppose, we are not now to be  
 told of, or instructed in; and if (as is  
 very plain) this would amount to a manifest  
 Declaration of his Will, no longer to retain  
 the Exercise of his Kingly Office, thus li-  
 mited, thus restrain'd; then, in Common  
 Sense, as well as legal Acceptation, he has  
 suffi-

A.D. 1688 $\frac{2}{2}$ The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

‘ sufficiently declared his renouncing the very  
‘ Office. As for his Departure out of the  
‘ Kingdom, ’tis not material, whether it was  
‘ voluntary, or involuntary; but it is suffici-  
‘ ent, that his A&ings declare, *quo animo*, he  
‘ went away; he no longer would pursue the  
‘ Design of his Kingly Office, or keep the  
‘ Original Contract, and his own Coronation  
‘ Oath: So that taking both these Things  
‘ together, that he will not; nay, he cannot  
‘ (as thus perswaded in point of Religion)  
‘ govern according to Law; and thereupon  
‘ hath withdrawn himself out of the King-  
‘ dom, it is a manifest Declaration of his ex-  
‘ press Renouncing and Parting with his King-  
‘ ly Office: And therefore I cannot depart  
‘ from insisting upon this Word *abdicated*,  
‘ which doth so well correspond to the Fact  
‘ of the Case, and so well expresses the true  
‘ Meaning of the Commons in their Vote.’


Earl of *Nottingham*. ‘ I would beg the  
‘ Favour of you, Gentlemen of the House  
‘ of Commons, to answer me one Question,  
‘ about this Point of Abdication; Whether  
‘ you mean by Abdication, a renouncing for  
‘ himself, or for himself and his Heirs?

‘ If you mean only Abdication for him-  
‘ self, it will have a different Influence upon  
‘ the Debate and Resolution of the Case,  
‘ as to the Meaning of that you call the Con-  
‘ clusion; for then, How can the Throne be  
‘ vacant? But if it be meant for himself and  
‘ his Heirs, then, I apprehend, it is no more  
‘ than what you say at the End, That the  
‘ Throne is indeed vacant, and then this Ab-  
‘ dication cannot be Part of the Premises,  
‘ but must be the same Thing with, or Part  
‘ of



A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>7</sub>

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



of the Conclusion. I will not undertake to dispute, whether a King of *England* may or may not renounce his Kingdom; for my own Part, I think he can. And I may go so far in Agreement with those that have spoken to this Point, to yield that he may do it by implicit Acts, contrary to the Kingly Office.

For a King to say, He will not govern according to Law; and for a King to act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which would subvert the Constitution, is (I think) the same Thing: But then I must say also, that I think there is a Difference between saying so, and doing something inconsistent with what the Laws require; for every Deviation from the Law, is a kind of Breach of the fundamental Laws: For I know no Law, as Laws, but what are fundamental Constitutions, as the Laws are necessary so far as to support the Foundation. But if every Transgression, or Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivance, or Command, were such a Breach of the fundamental Laws, as would infer an Abdication, then were it in vain to call any of his Ministers or Officers to account for any such Action; then the Action is the King's, and not theirs, and then adieu to the Maxim of a King's not doing Wrong; and we may have Recourse to that other, *Respondeat Superior*, as more effectual Satisfaction.

I take this Matter to be so plain as to the Distinction that I have mention'd, that nothing can be more: And it has been thought so essentially necessary to have it clear and manifest, that those two great In-  
stances

stances of *Edward II*, and *Richard II*, were express solemn Renunciations, and those confirm'd in Parliament, by the Lords and Commons, by the Act of deposing them : Therefore, I cannot infer from the Facts enumerated in the Vote, that this should be an Abdication for himself and his Heirs.

A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

Sir *George Treby*. " God forbid every Violation of the Law, or Deviation from it, should be reckon'd an Abdication of the Government ; I desire to deliver myself from the Imputation of any such absurd Conceit.

' When a King breaks the Law in some few particular Instances, it may be sufficient to take an Account of it from those evil Ministers that were instrumental to it ; Why such a Thing was done, which was against Laws ? Why such a Law was not executed, by them whose Duty it was to see it put in Execution ? You may, in ordinary Cases of breaking the Law, have Remedy in the ordinary Courts, and Course of Justice ; but sure he does not take this to be such a Case, or these to be ordinary Violations of the Laws ; and therefore the extraordinary Remedy is to be recurr'd unto : For the King having a limited Authority, by which he was obliged to keep the Laws made, as to the executive Part of the Government, and to observe the Constitution for making such new Laws as the People should find necessary, and present him for his Consent : When he doth violate, not a particular Law, but all the Fundamentals ; nor injure a particular Person in Religion, Liberty, or Property, but falls upon the whole

A.D. 1688<sup>9</sup>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

whole Constitution itself; What doth all  
this speak? He therein saith, *I will no more  
keep within my limited Authority, nor hold my  
Kingly Office upon such Terms: This Title I have  
by the original Contract between King and People.  
I renounce that, and will assume another Title  
to myself; that is, such a Title, as by which I  
may act as if there was no such Law to circum-  
scribe my Authority.* Where shall any Man  
come to have Redress in such a Case as  
this, when the Malefactor comes to be Party  
unto whom all Applications for Relief and  
Redress from Injuries should be made, and  
so he himself shall be a Judge of his own  
Breaches of Law? This, most apparently  
was the Case, as to the *Quo Warranto's*  
which was a plain Design to subvert the  
Constitution, in the very Foundation of the  
Legislature. It is because the King hath  
thus violated the Constitution, by which the  
Law stands as the Rule, both of the King's  
Government, and the People's Obedience  
that we say, he hath abdicated and re-  
nounced the Government: For all other  
particular Breaches of the Law, the Subject  
may have Remedy in the ordinary Courts  
of Justice, or the extraordinary Court of  
Parliamentary Proceedings; But where such  
an Attempt as this is made on the Essence  
of the Constitution, it is not we that have  
brought ourselves into this State of Nature,  
but those who have reduced our legal, well-  
establish'd Frame of Government, into such  
a State of Confusion, as we are now seek-  
ing a Redress unto.'

Earl of Rochester. "The Lords have given  
their Reasons, why they alter'd the Word  
abdi-

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

*abdicated*, because it is a Word not known to the Common Law, and of doubtful Signification : Therefore it would be well, if the Commons would be pleased to express their own Meaning by it. I believe my Lords would be induced to agree, that the King hath abdicated, that is, renounced the Government for himself, if you mean no farther than that : And if you do so, why should you not be pleased to explain yourselves, that every one may know how the Matter stands, and to preserve a good Correspondence between both Houses, in such a Conjunction as this ? But if you do mean any thing more by it, than Abdication for himself only ; though their Lordships should agree to the using of the Word *abdicated*, yet this would prove a greater Argument against their agreeing in the other Point, about the Vacancy of the Throne. Therefore we would be glad to have you explain yourselves, what you mean by it.

*Then there was a little Pause.*


Mr. Hampden. ‘ If the Lords have nothing further to offer upon this Point, it will be fit for us to go on to the other Amendment, made by the Lords to our Vote.

Mr. Sacheverel. “ My Lords, as to your Lordships second Amendment to the Commons Vote, (to wit, to leave out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*,) the House of Commons cannot agree with your Lordships to that Amendment ; and they do conceive they have many and great Reasons why they should not do it : But, my Lords, they very much wonder how it comes here



A.D. 1688<sup>s</sup>/<sub>7</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



to be laid upon them, (as it seems to be by one of your Lordship's Reasons) that they, by using those Words of *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, signify an Intention of making an Alteration of the Constitution of the Government. I would not misrepresent your Lordships Words, or misrepresent your Meaning; but you are pleased to say, that you cannot agree to such an Abdication or Vacancy, as that the Crown should thereby become Elective; as if the Commons had Thoughts of making the Kingdom Elective, when no such Thing was either meant by them, or can be deduced from their Words.

Earl of Clarendon. ' You said before, that he had abdicated the Government; and thereby the Throne was vacant. How is it vacant? Is it only as to King *James*? or is it as to him and all or any of his Posterity? or any of those that are in the Remainder in the Royal Line of Succession? If it be as to them too, then it must necessarily follow, that the Kingdom must thereby become Elective still, or the Government changed into a Commonwealth; neither of which, we hope, the Commons intended by it.

Mr. *Polexfen*. ' Do your Lordships agree that the Throne is vacant as to King *James II*? If so; or if you will say it is full of any body else, and will name who it is full of, it will then be Time for the Commons to tell what to say to it: If your Lordships will please to shew that, we'll go on to give it an Answer.

Earl

Earl of *Clarendon*. ' Your own Words in your second Reason are, That you need not prove to us, That as to any other Person the Throne is also vacant. Then how should we name who it is full of? Admit, for Discourse Sake, but we do not grant it; for my part, I do not : I say, Taking it to be vacant as to King *James II.* then you ask us, Who it should be supplied with? Must it not be supplied by those that should have come to it if he were dead?

A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince of Orange's Administration.

' For, I pray, consider; I take this Government, by all our Laws, to be an Hereditary Monarchy, and is to go in Succession by Inheritance in the Royal Line. If then you say, This Government is vacant; that would be to put all those by that should take by Succession; and that will make the Kingdom Elective for the Time.

' You say, The Throne is vacant; then I may very well ask, Who hath the Right of filling up the Vacancy? We say, There is no Vacancy: If there is, pray is there any body that hath the Right of filling it up?

Serjeant *Maynard*. ' That is not the Question before us; yet that will come properly in Debate when we are agreed upon the Vacancy. That Noble Lord says, It is by our Law an Hereditary Monarchy: I grant it. But though it should in an ordinary way descend to the Heir; yet, as our Case is, we have a Maxim in Law, as certain as any other, which stops the Course: For no Man can pretend to be King *James's* Heir

G g g 2

' while

A.D. 1688 $\frac{2}{9}$ .

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

while he is living; *Nemo est Hæres Viventis.*

Earl of *Pembroke*. ' To that Point I think  
' my Lord of C——n gave an Answer;  
' That it should go to the next in the Line  
' that was to take it if the King were dead:  
' For, as we should be understood, we should  
' make it a Case of Demise of our King, as  
' our Law calls it; that is, the King is dead  
' in Law, by this Abdication or Desertion  
' of the Government; and that the next  
' Heir is to take by Descent. You, Gentle-  
' men, ask us, Who the Throne is full of?  
' I think it is sufficient to know, that there  
' are Heirs who are to take by Lineal Suc-  
' cession; though we do not, or cannot posi-  
' tively name the particular Person.

Earl of *Nottingham*. ' Gentlemen, I would  
' know of you, if the Throne be vacant,  
' whether we be obliged to fill it? If we be,  
' we must fill it either by our old Laws, or  
' by the Humour of those that are to choose.  
' If we fill it by our old Laws, they declare,  
' That it is an Hereditary Kingdom, and we  
' are to take the next to whom the Succession  
' would belong; and then there would be no  
' need of standing upon a Vacancy. If we  
' are to fill it according to the Humour of  
' the Times, and of those that are to make  
' the Choice, that diverts the Course of Inhe-  
' rittance, and puts it into another Line. And  
' I cannot see by what Authority we can do  
' that, or change our ancient Constitution,  
' without committing the same Fault we have  
' laid upon the King.

' After

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

' After this long Debate, pray let us endeavour to come as near as we can to an Agreement. We have proposed some Questions, about which my Lords desired to be satisfied: You, Gentlemen, have not been pleased to give an Answer to them; and we have no great Hopes of getting one from you, as this Debate seems to be managed. On your part you have declared, That you do acknowledge the Monarchy is Hereditary, and Successive in the Right Line: Then I cannot see how such an Acknowledgment consists with the Reasons you give for your Vacancy; for I cannot imagine how a Kingdom can be an Hereditary Kingdom, and that King who hath Children now in being (at the Time of his forsaking the Governnient) can leave the Throne vacant both of him and his Children. The Course of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, is by our Law a great deal better provided for, and runs stronger in the Right Line of Birth, than of any other Inheritance. No Attainder of the Heir of the Crown will bar the Succession to the Throne, as it doth the Descent to any common Person. The very Descent by Order of Birth will take away any such Defect. And so was the Opinion of the great Lawyers of *England* in the Case of *Henry VII.* Then cannot I apprehend how any Act of the Father's can bar the Right of the Child. (I do not mean that an Act of Parliament cannot do it) I never said so, nor thought so: But I say, No Act of the Father's alone can do it; since even



A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

even the Act of the Son, which may en-  
danger an Attainder of him, cannot do it.  
So careful is the Law of the Royal Line of  
Succession. This is declared by many Acts  
of Parliament; and very fully and parti-  
cularly by that Statute of 25 *Henry VIII*  
cap. 22, entituled, *An Act concerning the*  
*King's Succession*: Where the Succession of  
the Crown is limited to the King's Issue  
Male first; then Female, and the Heirs of  
their Bodies, one after another by Course  
of Inheritance, according to their Ages  
as the Crown of *England* hath been accu-  
stomed, and ought to go in such Cases. I  
then the King hath done any thing to di-  
vest himself of his own Right, it doth not  
follow thence, that that shall exclude the  
Right of his Issue; and then the Throne is  
not vacant as long as there are any such  
Issue; for no Act of the Father can make  
it vacant for himself and Children.

Therefore if you mean no more than the  
Divesting his own Right, I desire you  
would declare so. And then, suppose the  
Right gone as to him; yet, if it descend  
to his Lineal Successor, it is not vacant.  
And I told you one Reason my Lords did  
stand upon, against agreeing to the Vacancy  
was, Because they thought your Vote might  
extend a great deal further than the King's  
own Person.

But your allowing it to be a Lineal In-  
heritance, and this Vacancy, methinks do  
not by any means consist. You declare, you  
never meant to alter the Constitution; there-  
fore you must preserve the Succession in its an-  
cient

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

cient Course. So I did hear a worthy Gentleman conclude it to be your Intention to do. But in what Methods can it be done in this Case by us? I desire to be satisfied in a few Things about this very Matter. I desire first to know, Whether the Lords and Commons have Power by themselves to make a binding Act or Law. And then I desire to know, Whether, according to our ancient legal Constitution, every King of *England*, by being seated on the Throne, and possessed of the Crown, is not thereby King to him and his Heirs: And without an Act of Parliament (which we alone cannot make) I know not what Determination we can make of his Estate.

‘ It has been urged indeed, That we have in effect already agreed to what is contained in this Vote, by voting, That it is inconsistent with our Religion and Laws, to have a Popish Prince to rule over us: But I would fain know, whether they that urge this, think that the Crown of *Spain* is legally and actually excluded from the Succession by this Vote. No Man sure will undertake to tell me, that a Vote of either House, or both Houses together, can alter the Law in this or any other Point. But because I am very desirous that this Vote should have its Effect, I desire that every thing of this nature should be done in the ancient, usual Method, by Act of Parliament.

‘ God forbid that, since we are happily delivered from the Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power, we should assume any  
‘ such

A.D. 1688.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



such Power to our selves. What Advantage should we then give to those who would quarrel with our Settlement for the Illegality of it? Would not this, which we thus endeavour to crush, break forth into a Viper? For the Record of 1 Hen. IV. *I acknowledge the Words of the Royal Seal being vacant*, are used. But since you yourselves tell us of it, that Henry IV. disclaim by Inheritance from his Grandfather that, methinks, may come up to what would have the declared Sense of both Houses upon this Question; to wit, That the Throne might be vacant of K. Richard I. but not so vacant, but the Claim of the immediate Successor was to take place and not be excluded, but entirely preferred. And K. Richard II. seems to have had the same Opinion, by delivering over his Signet to them.

Our Laws know no *Interregnum*; but upon the Death of the Predecessor, the next Heir is King *in uno & eodem instanti*. It was so resolved even in K. Richard II's own Case: For at his Grandfather's Death it was a Question, Whether K. Richard I. or the eldest Son of his Grandfather the living, should succeed? And it was resolved, That he ought to have it, because of his Right of Inheritance; which is the more remarkable, because of the Contest. And when Richard III. usurped his Crown, to make his Claim good to the Right of Inheritance, he bastardized his own Nephew. And so it was in all the Instances of all the Breaches that were made upon the Line of Succession.

‘ Succession; which were some seven (but all illegal): For such was the Force of the Laws, that the Usurpers would not take the Crown upon them, unless they had some specious Pretence of an Hereditary Title to it.


‘ That which I would have avoided by all means, is, the mischievous Consequences that I fear will ensue upon this Vacancy of the Throne; to wit, the utter Overthrow of the whole Constitution of the Government: For if it be so, that the Lords and Commons only remain as Part of it, will not this make the King one of the Three Estates? Then how is he the Head of the Commonwealth, and all united in one Body under him? And if the Head be taken away, and the Throne vacant, by what Laws or Constitutions is it that we retain Lords and Commons? For they are knit together in their Common Head: And if one Part of the Government be dissolved, I see not any Reason but that all must be dissolved. Therefore 'tis of great Importance, that we come to an Explanation, How far you mean the Throne to be vacant; and that if it reach to the King and his Heirs (notwithstanding all the Acts of Parliament about the Succession) we may consider how the Consequences of that will affect the Constitution: For I presume to say, It may then be in your Power as well to say, We shall have no King at all.

‘ I was mistaken by the Gentlemen who took notice of what I said the Lords might do of themselves in the Absence of the  
VOL. XXIII.      H h h      ‘ King;



A.D. 1688 $\frac{8}{9}$ .

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



King; I would not be understood to say,  
The Government devolved upon the Lords;  
but I may say, They are the Government's  
Great Council in the Interval of Parlia-  
ment, and may have greater Sway, by the  
Privilege of their Birth, in the Exigencies  
of the State; as appears in several Instan-  
ces; and particularly the first of *Henry VI.*  
and during his Infancy. There was a Case  
put by one Gentleman, about the two  
Sons of *Edward IV.* being kept Prisoners  
so long, till it could not be known by any  
living Witnesses which was the eldest. I  
would only ask that Gentleman, Whether  
in that Case he would say the Throne were  
vacant? Certainly there would have been  
one in the Throne. But then it followeth,  
that though there should be an Uncertainty  
of the particular Person, yet that would  
not infer a Necessity that the Throne should  
be vacant. Upon the whole Matter, you  
seem to understand your own Words to  
signify less than they do really import.

I do not find that you purpose to make  
the Kingdom Elective; and yet you talk  
of supplying the Vacancy by the Lords and  
Commons. You do not say, that the King  
has left the Crown for himself and his  
Heirs; and yet your Words speak of a  
Vacancy, and nothing of the Succession;  
but you do not tell us what you mean.  
Therefore if this Matter were explained,  
that my Lords may know how far the In-  
tention of the Vote reacheth; that it may  
not abroad or hereafter be construed to go  
beyond such Meaning; that is, as to the  
King

King himself, and not to his Heirs; perhaps there might quickly be a happier Accommodation, than can be expected while Things remain thus, still in doubt and in the dark.

A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.


The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

' Gentlemen, if any of you can set this Matter in its true Light, it would do very well; and it is you must do it, for the Words are yours; and so we must be told your Signification and Intention by yourselves. If you mean by *Abdication* and *Vacancy* only that the King has left the Government, and it is devolved upon the next Successor; that may perhaps satisfy my Lords, and we may agree upon some Settlement. I must confess, any Government is better than none; but I earnestly desire we may enjoy our ancient Constitution. Therefore I again renew my Request, That you would come to such an Explanation as may breed an Union between the Two Houses, for the strengthening of your Consultations and Resolutions in this great Emergency.

' If the Kingdom were indeed Elective, we were in a Capacity of Electing; but *pro hac vice*, according to the Constitution, this Question would be greater than what it was before: But then the great Debate in it would only be, Who should first have the Honour of laying the very Foundation of the new Government. But as this Case stands upon the Foot of our ancient Laws and Fundamental Constitution, I humbly beseech you to consider, whether, at the same time that in this way you get an esta-

A.D. 1688 $\frac{8}{9}$ .

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



‘ blished Government, you do not overturn  
‘ all our legal Foundations.

Mr. P. Foley. ‘ I hope, my Lords, there is no  
‘ Danger of shaking our Fundamentals in this  
‘ Case; but we are pursuing those Methods  
‘ that agree with our Laws and Constitution :  
‘ For though the Monarchy of this Nation be  
‘ Hereditary in the ordinary Course of Suc-  
‘ cession, yet there may fall out a Case where-  
‘ in that cannot be complied with, and a plain  
‘ Vacancy may ensue: For put the Case the  
‘ whole Royal Line should fail (as they are  
‘ all mortal, as well as we our selves are)  
‘ should we in that Case have no Government  
‘ at all? And who then should we have but  
‘ the Lords and Commons? And I think  
‘ that Case comes nearest to the Case in Que-  
‘ stion, where the Successor is not known ;  
‘ for if he had been, we should have heard  
‘ of him before now. And what is the Rea-  
‘ son that it should then in the former Case  
‘ devolve to the Lords and Commons, but  
‘ that there is no King? And they, being  
‘ the representative Body of the Kingdom,  
‘ are the only remaining apparent Parts of  
‘ the Government, and are only to supply  
‘ the Defect by providing a Successor. And  
‘ is there not the same Reason here? We are  
‘ without a King; I am sure I do not know  
‘ of any that we have. If that fall out to be  
‘ the Case now, that will infer a Vacancy  
‘ with a Witnests; and it will be of Necessity  
‘ that the Lords and Commons take Care to  
‘ supply it.

Mr. G. Eyres. ‘ My Lords, We are led,  
‘ and I think out of the Way, into a very  
‘ large

large Field, hunting after the Consequences of a Vote not yet settled or agreed unto: We have, as I conceive, nothing but the Vote itself to consider of, or debate upon: We do not intend to prejudice any legal Right. But what the Consequences of this Vote may be before the Vote itself be passed, I believe no Man can reasonably pretend to ascertain, unless he hath the Spirit of Prophecy. The Throne may be vacant as to the *Possession*, without the Exclusion of one that has a Right to the Succession, or a Dissolution of the Government in the Constitution: Neither will there be room for the Objection of a King *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*; which some of the Lords were pleased to express their Fears of.

*A.D. 1688<sup>9</sup>.*  
 The Prince  
 of Orange's  
 Admini-  
 stration.

' This Gentleman that stands by me instanced in a Record, and that was mistaken as a Precedent for the Proceeding in this Case: It was only mentioned by him, to shew, that by using the Word *Vacant* the Commons did no more than our Ancestors did before us; and therefore it was not an unknown Word or Thing to have the Throne vacant. We do apprehend we have made a right and apt Conclusion from the Premises; for otherwise all the Vote is but historical. We declare the late King hath broken the original Contract; hath violated the fundamental Laws, and hath withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom; that he hath abdicated, actually renounced, the Government. What Occasion was there for such a Declaration as this, if nothing  
 ' were



A.D. 1688<sup>g</sup><sub>7</sub>

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



were concluded from it? That were only to  
give the Kingdom a compendious History  
of those Miseries, they have too well learnt  
by feeling them. Therefore there was  
Necessity to make some Conclusion; and  
none so natural as this; That we are left  
without a King, in the Words of the Vote  
and that the Throne is thereby vacant  
Which it may be as to the *Possession*, and  
yet the Right of Succession no way preju-  
diced.

Remarks  
upon the  
Arguments  
concerning  
the Abdi-  
cation.

From these Arguments it appears to have  
been agreed on all Hands, 1. That the Crown  
was Hereditary, and not Elective; 2. That  
the King might abdicate or renounce his  
Right to the Crown, or the Administration  
of the Government, for himself, by express  
Words or Actions, discovering a Resolution  
not to govern according to Law; 3. That  
King *James* had discovered such a Resolution  
and that Allegiance was therefore no longer  
due to him, but the Crown was devolved upon  
the next Heir, as if he was actually dead.  
It was also resolved, *That it was not consistent*  
*with our Constitution, to be governed by a Popish*  
*Prince*: And, consequently, the Person styled  
*The Prince of Wales*, though he should ap-  
pear to be born of the Queen, would be ex-  
cluded; being carried to *France*, in order to  
be educated in that Religion. And therefore  
upon the Convention were determined to de-  
clare the Princess of *Orange*, the next Pro-  
stant Heiress, Queen. But *Dr. Burnet* in-  
forms us, That 'the Earl of *Danby* sending  
' over to the Princess, to give her an Account

of their Debates, and to let her know, if she desired it, he did not doubt, they should be able to set her *alone* upon the Throne: She answered, She was the Prince's Wife, and would never be other than what she should be in Conjunction with him, and under him; and should take it very unkindly of any one who should endeavour to separate their Interests: And sent both the Lord *Danby's* Letter and her Answer to the Prince; who being now assured of the Consent of the Princess under her Hand, sent for the Earl of *Danby*, together with the Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and let them know, That tho' some were for putting the Princess into the Throne *singly*, He would neither think of holding it by Apron-strings; *nor would he take any Share in the Government, unless it were lodged in his own Person for Term of Life*: Though he would consent, that the Issue of the Princess *Anne* should succeed before the Issue he might have by any other Wife but the Princess.

*A.D. 1688.*  
The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

The Prince  
insists upon  
being King  
for Life:

And this Resolution of his Highness, it appears, put an End to all the Debates in the Convention: For the Lords immediately agreed to the Vote of Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne; and on the seventh of *February* resolved, That the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be King and Queen of *England*, &c, for their natural Lives, and the Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the *sole* and full Regal Power be in the Prince *only* during their joint Lives. With which Resolution the Commons concurred.

With  
whom the  
2 Houses  
concur.

How-

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

Protests  
against the  
Abdication.

However, there were no less than eleven Spiritual, and twelve Temporal Lords that protested against the Resolution concerning the Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne and within three Days their Number encreased to thirty seven. However, the Princess of *Orange* arriving from *Holland* on the twelfth of *February*, both Houses attended the Prince and Princess the next Day in the Banqueting-House at *Whitehall*; when the Clerk of the Crown read the following Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at *Westminster*.

Instances  
of King  
*James's*  
Misleadmi-  
nistration.

‘ Whereas, the late King *James II*, by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, by assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending the Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament, by committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power; by issuing, and causing to be executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court, called, The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, by levying Money, for, and to the Use of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the same was granted by Parliament; by raising and keeping a standing Army with- in this Kingdom, in Time of Peace, with-  
‘ out

out Consent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law; by causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same Time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to Law; by violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament; by Prosecutions in the Court of King's-Bench, for Matters and Causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other illegal and arbitrary Courses.


' And, whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Persons, have been returned, and served on Juries in Trials, and particularly, divers Jurors, in Trials for High Treason, which were not Freeholders; and excessive Bail hath been required of Persons committed in criminal Causes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws, for the Liberty of the Subject; and excessive Fines have been imposed, and illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted, and several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment; all which, are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws, and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

' And whereas the late King *James II.*, having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God, to make the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of



A.D. 1688<sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



the Commons) cause Letters to be writ-  
ten to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,  
being Protestants; and other Letters to the  
several Counties, Cities, Universities, Bo-  
roughs, and Cinque-Ports, for the chusing  
of such Persons to represent them, as were  
of Right to be sent to Parliament, to meet  
and sit at *Westminster*, *January* the 22d,  
1689, in order to such an Establishment, as  
that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties,  
might not again be in Danger of being  
subverted: Upon which Letters, Elec-  
tions have been accordingly made: And  
thereupon, the said Lords Spiritual and  
Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to  
their respective Letters and Elections, be-  
ing now assembled in a full and free Repre-  
sentation of this Nation; taking into their  
most serious Consideration, the best Means  
for the Attaining the Ends aforesaid; do in  
the first Place (as their Ancestors in like  
Cases have usually done) for the vindica-  
ting their ancient Rights and Liberties,  
declare,

Declared  
Illegal.  
The  
Rights of  
the People  
asserted.

That the pretended Power of Suspending  
Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal  
Authority without Consent of Parliament,  
is illegal.

That the pretended Power of Dispensing  
with Laws, or the Executing of Laws by  
Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed  
and exercised of late, is illegal.

That the Commission, for erecting the  
late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiasti-  
cal Causes, and all other Commissions and  
Courts

Court of the like Nature, are illegal and pernicious. *A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup><sub>100</sub>*

‘ That Levying Money, to or for the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament for longer Time, or in any other Manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. *The Prince of Orange's Administration.*

‘ That it is the Right of the Subject to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.

‘ That the Raising and Keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be by Consent of Parliament, is against the Law.

‘ That the Subjects, being Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence, suitable to their Condition, and as allowed by Law.

‘ That the Elections of Members of Parliament, ought to be free.

‘ That the Freedom of Speech, or Debates and Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached, or questioned in any Court, or Place out of Parliament.

‘ That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

‘ That Jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned; and Jurors, which pass upon Men in Trials for High Treason, ought to be Freeholders.

‘ That all Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.

‘ And that for Redress of all Grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and, preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

‘ And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Privileges; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter in Consequence or Example.

‘ To which Demand of their Rights, they are particularly encouraged, by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

‘ Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, will perfect the Deliverance, so far advanced by him; and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted; and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights, and Liberties;

The Prince  
and Prin-  
cess of  
*Orange* de-  
clared King  
and  
Queen.

‘ The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*, do resolve, that *William* and *Mary* Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be, and be declared, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to them, the said Prince and Princess, during their Lives, and the Life of

‘ the

the Survivor of them ; and that the sole and full Exercise of the Royal Power, be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the Names of the Prince and Princess, during their Lives ; and after their Deceases, the said Crown, and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess ; and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body ; and for Default of such Issue to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*.

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>

The Prince of Orange's Administration.

The Succession limited.

‘ And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of *Orange*, to accept the same accordingly.

‘ And that the Oaths, hereafter mentioned, be taken by all Persons, of whom the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required by Law, instead of them ; and that the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, be abrogated.

Oaths altered.

‘ I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

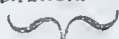
‘ *So help me God.*’

‘ I *A. B.* do swear, That I do from my Heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, as Impious and Heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes, excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be deposed, or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, That no Fo-

‘ reign



A.D. 1688.<sup>g</sup>. ' reign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Po  
 ' tentate, hath, or ought to have, any Juris  
 The Prince ' diction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence  
 of Orange's ' or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual  
 Admini- ' within this Realm.  
 stration.



' *So help me God.*'

After the Reading of this Declaration, the  
 Marquess of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the House  
 of Lords, made a Tender of the Crown to  
 their Highnesses in the Name of both Houses;  
 whereupon, the Prince returned this Answer.

' My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

' This is certainly the greatest Proof of  
 ' the Trust you have in me, that can be gi  
 ' ven; which is the Thing, that makes us va  
 ' lue it the more. And, as I had *no other*  
 ' *Intention* in coming hither, than to preserv  
 ' your Religion, Laws, and Liberties; so yo  
 ' may be sure, that I shall endeavour to sup  
 ' port them, and shall be willing to concu  
 ' in any Thing, that shall be for the Goo  
 ' of the Kingdom; and to do all that is i  
 ' my Power, to advance the Welfare and  
 ' Glory of the Nation.'

The King  
 and Queen  
 proclaim-  
 ed.

Some Re-  
 flections  
 on these  
 Proceed-  
 ings.

On the same Day, being *Ash-Wednesday*  
 the Prince and Princess were solemnly pro-  
 claimed, King and Queen of *England, France*  
 and *Ireland*, with the usual Solemnity, in  
 the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

Thus were the Prince and Princess of  
*Orange*, recognized King and Queen, in Pur-  
 suance


ance of the Resolution, *That it was not consistent with the Constitution, to be governed by a Popish Prince.* I do not see, the Convention did any Thing more, than concur with the next Protestant Heir the Princess of *Orange*, transferring her immediate Right to her Husband ; which, if she was satisfied with, the Subject might very well acquiesce in it. There was no Election ; no breaking into the Succession. King *James* had abdicated his Throne ; the next Protestant Heir, transferred her Right to the Crown to her Husband, who might therefore be obeyed, without any Manner of Scruple. As to the Person, styled Prince of *Wales*, his Birth was not only disputed, but he was carried to a Popish Country, in order to be educated in that Religion ; which, according to the Resolution of both Houses, rendered him incapable of the Crown of *England*. And if Popery is a perpetual Bar to the Succession, I don't see, why we ought not to have submitted to the next Protestant Heir, if no such Settlement had ever been made. This cannot be called an Election ; but is more properly a Recognizing the next Protestant Heir, our Sovereign. But to enter a little into the Justice and Reasonableness of Withdrawing our Allegiance from a Prince, that has abdicated his Throne, and refused to govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom ; which is the Measure of his Power, as well, as of the Subject's Duty.

Even, the Non-juring Doctor *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, in the Debates concerning the Abdication, did acknowledge, That as there might

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.The Prince of *Orange's* Administration.

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of Orange's  
Admini-  
stration.



might be a natural Incapacity to govern, Sick-  
ness, Lunacy, doating old Age, &c. there might be a moral Incapacity; as an in-  
removeable Persuasion in a false Religion  
contrary to the Doctrine of Christianity  
when a Prince is not only unable to execute  
the Laws, but thinks himself obliged in Con-  
science, to act directly contrary to them  
when a King, as Sir *George Treby* observed  
the same Debate, does not only injure par-  
ticular Persons, in their Religion, Liberties  
and Properties, but falls upon the whole  
Constitution, and does in effect declare,  
will no more keep within his limited Auth-  
ority, or hold the Kingly Office on such Terms  
as the Law prescribes; but renounces that  
Kind of Monarchy, and will assume an Ar-  
bitrary Dominion over his Subjects; can  
be affirmed in this Case, we are obliged  
to submit to him?

If the King had been pleased to turn *Turk*  
or *Pagan*, and endeavoured to destroy the  
Professors of Christianity, in a Country where  
it is established by Law, and Part of the Con-  
stitution: Where are the Christians, that  
would think themselves under any Obligation  
to obey such a Monarch? If then the King  
turns Papist, and thinks himself obliged to  
suspend the Laws, that defend the Protestant  
Religion in this Kingdom, and actually does  
suspend them, and persist in it; discov-  
ering evidently, that he thinks himself ob-  
liged to extirpate the Protestant Religion  
Pain of Damnation: Can any Protestant  
so sottish, as to think he is obliged to submit  
to such a Prince, in a Kingdom where the  
Protestant

Protestant

Protestant Religion is established by Law, and Part of the Constitution. If it be objected, that the Church of *England* was once of another Opinion, and preached up Obedience to a Popish, as well as a Protestant Prince; declaring, that a Difference in Religion could not alter our Duty: I answer, that this was founded upon a Persuasion, that it was possible, a Popish Prince might govern a Protestant People according to their Laws; but since the Nation has twice made the Experiment, once in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and again in that of *James II*; and by dear bought Experience, hath found, that such Princes look upon themselves obliged in Conscience to ruin and destroy those Subjects they are bound to protect, and to subvert the whole Constitution, rather than not establish their Superstition; We have now very good Reason to alter our Minds; and if we should ever a third Time suffer ourselves to come under a Popish Yoke, we deserve to feel the Effects of it. But to proceed.

Let us enquire of the Subjects of *France* or *Spain*, If their several Kings should turn Protestants, whether they would not think themselves bound in Conscience to withdraw their Allegiance from them? Nay, Whether the Pope, the Head of their Religion, would not look upon it as a meritorious Act, to take up Arms against such Protestant Princes? And if this would be allow'd and applauded in absolute Monarchies, where the whole Legislative Authority is lodged in the Prince, How much more are we excusable in a limited



A.D. 1688<sup>3</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.

The Prince  
of *Orange's*  
Admini-  
stration.

Monarchy, where the King can neither make or alter the Laws, without the Concurrence of the People, in recognizing the next Heir, professing the Religion of our Country? I may address myself to the Presbyterians, and the rest of the Dissenters in like Manner, and demand, If any of their Sects were establish'd by the Laws of the Land in this limited Monarchy, Whether they would obey either a Popish or Episcopal King, if he went about arbitrarily to deprive them of the Exercise of their Religion? To conclude: As the Laws of this Country have establish'd the Church of *England* here, and the Sovereign is obliged to be of that Church; possibly, none of our future Princes will be so weak as to profess themselves Papists, or Presbyterians, or endeavour the Extirpation of the Church of *England*, while King *James's* unhappy Fate remains upon Record.

The Re-  
volution  
brought  
about by  
Church-  
men, and  
not by  
Dissenters.

I shall make but one Observation more on this great Turn of State; and that is on the Diligence and Address of the Dissenters, who always pretend to a great Share of Merit in every Alteration of Government. In *Cromwell's* Usurpation, they gave out, he could not have supported himself without their Assistance. At the Restoration, That the King was principally obliged to them. When King *James II.*, assumed a dispensing Power, they congratulated him, and encouraged him in it, by the most flattering Addresses, and base Submissions: And when King *William* and Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, they pretended, this was brought about too by their Means;

Means; though, in the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* *A.D. 1688*<sup>8</sup>  
 Words, The main Body of thoſe who made  
 ſo brave a Stand at the Revolution, were all  
 of the Church of *England*, and the Principles  
 on which they ſtood, all Church of *England*  
 Principles. It was by theſe Perſons and Prin-  
 ciples, that Popery was ſtopp'd in its Carreer;  
 and the arbitrary Schemes King *James* had  
 form'd, were entirely defeated. Give me  
 Leave to obſerve further, that it was a Church  
 of *England* Parliament, and even a High-  
 Church Parliament, that firſt ſettled the Pro-  
 teſtant Succeſſion in the Reign of King *Wil-*  
*liam*; and another High Church Parliament,  
 that eſtabliſh'd it in the Reign of Queen *Anne*;  
 though the Diſſenters, it muſt be own'd, have  
 generally had the Foreſight to diſcern when a  
 Turn of State is likely to happen, to make  
 Friends in Time, and claim the greateſt Share  
 in the Enterprize; and have been ſo lucky as  
 to be believed and favour'd accordingly, by  
 thoſe that did not thoroughly know them:  
 Though if it be conſider'd, that they can ne-  
 ver be hearty Friends to any Government,  
 but a Common-Wealth; and if they could,  
 that they are not a ſixteenth Part of the Na-  
 tion; the Church of *England*, as it juſtly  
 deſerves, would be eſteem'd the greateſt and  
 firmeſt Support of his Maſteſty's Throne, and  
 enjoy a proportionable Share of his Favour.

The Title of King *James* was the ſame with  
 that of his Brother King *Charles II*, and had  
 never been diſputed, if he had not abdicated  
 the Government. As to his Character, ſince  
 we are ſo divided about it ourſelves, I ſhall

The Prince  
 of *Orange's*  
 Admini-  
 ſtration.

King  
*James's*  
 Title.

His Cha-  
 racter.

A.D. 1688<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>

refer the Reader to that given him by an ingenious Foreigner, who observes, ‘ That the Duke of *York* employ’d his Youth in the continual Exercise of Arms: He had always apply’d himself to it from the Age of Nine Years, when he was with his Father at *Edgehill* Fight, till the Age of Twenty Seven, when he returned into *England* with his Brother. His Genius led him that way; he valued any Opportunity of signalizing his Courage, above the greatest political Advantages: This is both commendable and blame-worthy. I know not whether the Duke deserved the Blame, but all *Europe* was convinced, that he was worthy of the Praise; and the Commendations given his Valour by the Prince of *Conde*, and *Marschal Turenne*, those two great Masters of the Art of War, will remain his eternal Monuments.

‘ He gave fresh Proofs of it in the War the King his Brother declared against the States of *Holland*, in the Year 1665; and the Victory he gain’d over them at Sea, shew’d the Duke to be as good a Commander in Chief, as he had been Officer and Soldier: Twenty two of the Enemy’s Ships were then taken, burnt, or sunk, by the *English*; *Opdam*, the *Dutch* General, perishing there in his. That Fleet had totally been destroy’d, had not one *Bronkard*, of the Duke’s Bed-Chamber, prevented the Execution of his Orders, the very Night after the Victory. The Duke lay down to take a little Rest, after giving Orders to  
‘ make

make all Sail, and keep up with the Remainder of the broken Navy : That Gentleman, who was none of those that valued their Honour above their Life, told the Captain, he was too lavish in exposing the Heir of the Crown, and counterfeited another Order from him, for slackening Sail, which was unadvisedly done. He was disgraced, and the Parliament would have brought him to a Trial, but he was discarded ; and that Assembly, in the Name of all the Nation, made a publick Acknowledgement to the Victor, of the Service he had done the Kingdom, assigning him, by an Act, still preserved among the Records, a Gratification of 50,000 *l.* and upwards.

This Victory having added new Lustre to the Duke of *York*, he was in the happiest and most agreeable Condition, a Prince of his Degree could be : He had an establish'd Reputation, not only in *England*, where they look'd upon him as the Support of the Nation, but throughout all *Europe*, where he was regarded as one of the Princes of his Time, who best maintain'd the Grandure of his Birth, by his personal Merit : He enjoy'd most of the great Places of Profit and Honour, was Lord High Admiral of *England*, and Govern. of the Cinque Ports, and of *Portsmouth*. He having Children, and the King none, abundance of People follow'd him, as the Heir to the Crown, which was to pass away to his Head, and remain in his Family : And what made this the happier, the King was not jealous of  
him.



‘ him. His Majesty being fully convinced of  
 ‘ his Affection to him, look’d upon that Prince’s  
 ‘ Court as the most loyal Part of his own,  
 ‘ and thought he had no surer Friends than  
 ‘ the Duke of *York*’s.

‘ I am sensible, some Politicians thought  
 ‘ ill of it, and err’d with those who, to be  
 ‘ thought to see farther into Mysteries of  
 ‘ State than others, do report whatsoever  
 ‘ they imagine, and not what really is. The  
 ‘ Truth is, that the King never had any  
 ‘ Jealousy of the Duke, and that the Duke,  
 ‘ from his Infancy, ever behaved himself so  
 ‘ submissively towards the King, that he had  
 ‘ no Occasion to suspect him : A Thing very  
 ‘ rare between two Brothers of that Rank,  
 ‘ and in a Court so full of restless and facti-  
 ‘ ous Spirits, as that of *England* has long  
 ‘ been. By this it appears, that all Parties  
 ‘ equally made Interest to the Duke of *York*,  
 ‘ and that whatsoever Way he leant, the  
 ‘ Balance inclined. This was the Duke of  
 ‘ *York*’s Condition, and thus were Men’s  
 ‘ Minds disposed towards him, when a Jeal-  
 ‘ ousy spread abroad, of his being a Catho-  
 ‘ lick in his Heart, though he still outward-  
 ‘ ly appear’d as a Protestant, beginning to  
 ‘ withdraw the Affections of Men from him,  
 ‘ gave the first Shock to his Prosperity.

‘ He is allow’d by all, to have been a kind  
 ‘ Husband, and an indulgent Father ; and if  
 ‘ we may believe his old Protestant Servants,  
 ‘ he was the best of Masters.’

I shall

I shall add here Part of the Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, on his presenting the Bill to his Majesty King Charles II, when the Gratuity of 50,000 *l.* was given to the Duke, for his Service against the Dutch, viz.

‘ And it is not the least Mercy, both to your Majesty, and to your People, that God hath blessed you with a Brother so like yourself.

‘ The Name of his Royal Highness is already enrolled among the Heroes of other Nations; but this his native Country had not so great Experience of him, till your Majesty was pleased, in this Summer’s Expedition, to trust him with the Conduct of the most Royal Fleet that ever sailed upon the *British* Seas: Wherein he shewed that Prowess, and that Prudence, and, by the Blessing of Almighty God, was crowned with that Success against the Dutch, that we cannot pass it by in Silence; and yet we are at a Loss how to express our Thanks both to your Majesty and to Him. I am commanded therefore to beseech your Majesty, That you will vouchsafe to let us make a Present to you of a Month’s Tax, to come in the Rear after the four and twenty Months of your Majesty’s Royal Aid; and that your Majesty will be pleased to bestow it upon his Royal Highness.’

Thus

Thus was this Prince happy in the Affections of the People, till he discovered his Religion: And, notwithstanding the Prejudices against him upon this Account, he had in a great measure recovered their good Opinion again before his Brother died. He came to the Crown with great Applause, and gave such Assurances of protecting our Religion and Properties at his Accession, that the Parliament he called appeared as loyal and affectionate to their Prince as any that had been assembled of late Years. And to the Intrigues of the Jesuits, and of some false Brethren in his Council, who put the King upon arbitrary and illegal Measures, and then betrayed and reviled him for pursuing their Counsels; to these we may impute most of his own and his People's Misfortunes afterwards: They were very much owing also to the Obstinacy of the Whigs in the late Reign, who would not admit of any Expedients to prevent these Encroachments. As to the King's Courage and Conduct under his Misfortunes, which are thought not to be equal to the Character he had obtained in the former Part of his Life: Should this be admitted, it is not to be much wondered at, when he was betrayed and deserted by all Sorts of People, when he could hardly depend upon any one Man in his Council or Armies, and was forsaken even by his own Children; which are Circumstances sufficient to dispirit a Person of approved Courage, and confound the most consummate Conduct.

King

His Marriage and Issue.

King *James II.* while he was Duke of *York*, was married to Mrs. *Anne Hyde*, eldest Daughter to the Right Honourable *Edward Hyde*, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. His Royal Highness was first contracted to this Lady on the twenty fourth of *November*, 1659, at *Breda* in *Brabant*; and was again married to her after the Restoration, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, on the third of *September*, 1660, by whom he had Issue four Sons, and four Daughters; viz.

*Charles* of *York*, Duke of *Cambridge*, born the twenty second of *October*, 1660; who died seven Months old.

*James* of *York*, Duke of *Cambridge*, second Son, born the twelfth of *July*, 1663: He was presently created Baron of *Dauntsey*, and Earl of *Cambridge*; and at the Age of three Years was elected Knight of the Garter; but died before he was installed, Anno 1667.

*Charles* of *York*, Duke of *Kendal*, third Son, born at *St. James's* the fourth of *July*, Anno 1666, who died in *May*, 1667.

*Edgar* Duke of *Cambridge*, fourth Son, born the fourteenth of *September*, 1667, died the eighth of *June*, 1671.

*Mary* of *York*, eldest Daughter of King *James II.* was born the thirtieth of *April*, 1662: She was married to *William-Henry* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, afterwards King of *England*, the fourth of *November*, 1677.



*Anne of York*, second Daughter, was born at *St. James's* the sixth Day of *February*, 1664: She was married to his Royal Highness *George Prince of Denmark*, second Son to *Frederick III. King of Denmark*; and was afterwards *Queen of England*.

*Henrietta of York*, his third Daughter, was born at *Whitehall* the thirtieth Day of *January*, Anno 1668; and died at ten Months old.

*Katherine of York*, fourth Daughter, born the ninth of *February*, 1670; died the fifth of *December*, 1671.

His Royal Highness having buried his first Dutchess the thirty first of *March*, 1671, while he was *Duke of York* married again to the Princess of *Modena*, *Mary d'Este*, Daughter of *Alphonso D'Este*, *Duke of Modena*, and Sister to *Francis* the then *Duke at Dover*, the twelfth of *November*, 1673. By this Princess he had Issue; viz.

*Charles of York*, *Duke of Cambridge*, born at *St. James's* on the seventh of *November*, Anno 1677; who died the *December* following.

*Katherine-Laura*, eldest Daughter, born the tenth Day of *January*, 1674; died *October*, 1675.

*Isabella of York*, second Daughter, born the twenty eighth of *August*, 1676; died the second of *March*, 1680.

*Charlotte-Maria of York*, third Daughter, born the fifteenth of *August*, 1682; died in *October* following.

*James-Francis-Edward*, a Son whose Birth was disputed, of whom the Queen was delivered

vered at *St. James's* on *Sunday Morning* the tenth of *June*, 1688.

*Louisa-Maria-Teresa*, a Daughter born at *St. Germain's* in *France* the eighteenth of *June*, Anno 1692; and died at *St. Germain's* the eighth of *April*, New Stile, 1712. His natural Issue were;

*James Fitz-James*, his eldest natural Son, by *Mrs. Arabella Churchill*, Sister to Colonel *Churchill*, afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*, created in the third Year of his Father's Reign Duke of *Berwick*, Earl of *Tinmouth*, and Baron *Bosworth*; and in the Year 1688 elected one of the Knights Companions of the Noble Order of the Garter; but going to *France* with the King the same Year, was never installed: He afterwards served in the *French Troops*; whereupon he was outlawed for High-Treason Anno 1695. Since which he has been made a Marshal of *France*, and commanded both the *French* and *Spanish Armies*; particularly at the memorable Battle of *Almanza*; where his Success was such, that he was made a Duke and Peer of *France*. He commanded the *French Army* on the *Rhine*, consisting of an hundred thousand Men, the last and present Year, and was killed *June* 1734, by a Cannon-Ball at the Siege of *Philipsburgh*. He left three Sons behind him; viz. 1. Duke *James Fitz-James*; the second is Duke of *Liria* in *Spain*, having received that Honour from his Catholick Majesty, whose Ambassador he was some time to the Court of *Vienna*; and the third is in the Service of the Church.

His natural Issue, and their respective Mothers.

*Henry Fitz-James*, second natural Son of King *James II.* by *Mrs. Arabella Churchill*, was, while he remained in *England*, usually styled the *Grand Prior* : He followed his Father into *France*, and was outlawed also in the Year 1695, and is since dead, leaving Issue only one Daughter.

*Henrietta*, a Daughter of King *James II.* by *Mrs. Arabella Churchill*, was married to Sir *Henry Waldegrave*, afterwards *L. Waldegrave*; by whom she had Issue *James Lord Waldegrave*.

King *James* had another natural Daughter by the said *Mrs. Churchill*, lately a Nun in *France*.

He had also a Daughter by *Mrs. Catherine Sedley*, Daughter of Sir *Charles Sedley*, created Countess of *Dorchester*; and was Wife to the Earl of *Portmore*.

*Katherine*, born Anno 1681, surnamed *Darnley*, married 1699 to *James* late Earl of *Anglesea*, and separated from him by Act of Parliament; by whom she had Issue a Daughter; and after his Death was married to *John Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*; by whom she had Issue *John Sheffield*, now Duke of *Buckingham*, who was born Anno 1712.

## STATUTES in the Reign of K. JAMES II.

Statutes.

There being but one Parliament in this Reign, which did not sit much above two Months, very few Laws were made, except those relating to the Taxes already mentioned; the principal of them were,

I Jac.

1 *Jac. 2, Cap. 8*, Which prohibits the Im-  
portation of Gunpowder, Arms, Ammuni-  
tion, or Utensils of War, without License,  
on pain of Forfeiture. Gunpow-  
der, Arms,  
&c.

1 *Jac. 2, Cap. 10*, Empowers Justices of Carriages.  
Peace to provide Carriages for the King in  
his Progress and Removals.

1 *Jac. 2, Cap. 15*, Enables the Archbishop *S. Paul's*,  
of Canterbury, the Bishop of *London*, and the  
Lord Mayor, to finish the Cathedral of *St.*  
*Paul's*, by a Duty laid on Coals.

1 *Jac. 2, Cap. 16*, Contains Directions Poor.  
concerning the Settlement of poor People.

1 *Jac. 2, Cap. 17*, Enacts, That no Admi-  
nistrators shall be cited to render an Account  
of the Personal Estate of his Intestate, other-  
wise than by Inventory thereof; unless at  
the Instance of some Person in behalf of a  
Minor, or of one having a Demand out of  
such Estate, as a Creditor, or next of kin. Admini-  
strators.

If after the Death of a Father, any of his  
Children shall die Intestate, without Wife or  
Children, in the Life-time of the Mother,  
every Brother and Sister, and their Repre-  
sentatives, shall have an equal Share with  
her. Intestates  
Personal  
Estate.

NOBLEMEN created in the Reign of K. JAMES II.

*Henry Fermin* of *Chevely*, in *Com. Camb.* Esq; Creations  
of Nobility.  
created Baron of *Dover* in *Com. Kent*, the 13th  
of May, 1685. Fermin.

*Sir George Jefferies*, Bart. Lord Chief Ju-  
stice of *England*, created Baron *Jefferies* of  
*Wem* in *Com. Salop*, 1685. Jefferies.

*John*



- Churchill.* John Lord Churchill, of Aymouth in Scotland, created Baron Churchill of Sandridge in Com. Herts. 1685.
- Sedley.* Catherine Sedley, only Child of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. created Baroness of Darlington the second of January, 1685.
- Walgrave* James Waldegrave, Bart. created L. Waldegrave of Chenton in Com. Somerset, the twentieth of January, 1685.
- Fitz-James.* James Fitz-James, natural Son to King James II. by Mrs. Churchill, Sister to the late Duke of Marlborough, created Duke of Berwick, Earl of Tinmouth, and Baron of Bosworth, in February 1686.
- Ratcliffe.* Sir Francis Ratcliffe, of Dilston in Com. Northumb. Bart. created Baron of Tindale, Viscount Ratcliffe and Langley, and Earl of Derwentwater, the seventh of March, 1687.

*The End of the Reign of King JAMES II.*

The End of the Twenty third Volume.



T H E  
T A B L E  
O F T H E  
XXIII<sup>d</sup> VOLUME.

---

A.

<b>A</b> BDICATION, Resolution of the Commons concerning it, and the Vacancy of the Throne, &c.	390
Debates in Parliament concerning it	392
Remarks upon the Arguments concerning the Abdication, with Protests against it	422, 424
<b>ABHORRERS</b> , Addresses of Abhorrence, reflecting on the Whig Addresses for the Meeting of the Parliament	72
The Commoners expel the Abhorrrers	77
<b>ANNE</b> , Princess, married to the Prince of Denmark	177
Archbishop of St. Andrew's murdered	49
<b>ARGYLE</b> , convicted of High-Treason, for prejudicing the People against the Test	119
Preparations in Scotland against him	250
<b>ARGYLE</b> ,	

# The TABLE.

ARGYLE, <i>he lands in Scotland</i>	250
<i>The Substance of his Declarations</i>	251
<i>He flies before the King's Forces, and is taken</i>	254
<i>He is executed</i>	255
Armstrong, <i>Execution awarded against him on an Outlawry for High-Treason</i>	199
ARMY, <i>Debates about keeping a Standing Army in the Reign of James II.</i>	283
<i>The Army encamped at Hounslow, to keep the People in awe</i>	296
<i>Johnson's Address to the Army</i>	297
<i>King James encreases his Fleet and Army</i>	326
<i>The Soldiers tampered with to force the Nation to submit to a Dispensing Power ; which they refuse</i>	337
<i>Whereupon the King designs to new-model his Army</i>	ib.
<i>The Officers refuse to recruit their Companies with Irish</i>	338
<i>Several of them cashiered</i>	ib.
<i>Forces brought from Ireland and Scotland</i>	ib.
<i>King James's Army disbanded by the Earl of Feverham</i>	369
Arundel, Lord, <i>made Privy-Seal</i>	299
ASSOCIATION, <i>proposed against the Duke of York's Accession</i>	93
<i>Addresses against Shaftsbury's Association</i>	123
<i>The Sum of it</i>	124
<i>Address of the University of Cambridge a- gainst it</i>	231
<i>Association in Favour of the Prince of Orange</i>	360, 373
Ayloff, <i>one of the Rebels taken in Scotland, stabs himself</i>	256
<i>He is executed at London</i>	281

# The T A B L E.

B.

<b>B</b> Ailie the Scot's Trial; proves the Rye-House Plot	194
Barnardiston fined, for affirming the Rye-House Plot was a Sham	196
Baxter's Trial	247
Bedloe, 500 l. paid him for his Evidence	36
Bethel and Cornish, two Fanaticks, elected Sheriffs of London	75
<b>BISHOP</b> of London cited to appear before the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes	294
He is suspended	296
A Declaration for Liberty of Conscience ordered to be read in Churches. &c.	327
Seven Bishops petition against Reading it in Churches	328
They are summoned before the Council	331
Sent to the Tower	332
Admitted to Bail: Their Trial	334
They are acquitted	335
Their Advice to the King	345
King James demands if they invited the Prince of Orange over	355
Requires them to sign an Abhorrence of the Invasion	356
Booksellers punished for seditious Libels	71, 198
Bothwell-Bridge, the Scots Rebels defeated there	53
Braddon and Speke tried for charging the Murder of Lord Essex on the Government	195
<b>Burnet's</b> malicious Relation of the Duke of York's Danger of being cast away	134
His Relation impossible to be true	ib.
He endeavours to evade the Force of the Duke of Monmouth's Confessions	187
He acknowledges there were dangerous Consults; and then denies there were any such	188
The Commons traduced by Bishop Burnet	309
M m m	Cam-



# The T A B L E,

## C.

<b>C</b> <sup>Ambridge, the Vice-Chancellor's Speech to the</sup>	
<i>King on the Situation of his Affairs</i>	116
<i>Cavaliers, an Act to grant 60,000<i>l.</i> among the</i>	
<i>Loyal</i>	228
<b>CHARLES II.</b> <i>his Speech to his new Parlia-</i>	
<i>ment</i>	33
<i>Mr. Edward Seymour chosen Speaker, and re-</i>	
<i>jected by the King</i>	35
<i>The King complains of the Faction to Sir Wm.</i>	
<i>Temple</i>	39
<i>Is advised to take their Leaders into his Coun-</i>	
<i>cils</i>	ib.
<i>Shaftsbury President</i>	40
<i>He embarrasses the King's Affairs</i>	41
<i>The King proposes Expedients, instead of the</i>	
<i>Exclusion</i>	43
<i>The King sends for the Duke of York to Court</i>	70
<i>The King declares he was never married to the</i>	
<i>Duke of Monmouth's Mother</i>	73
<i>The Commons present him with a peevish Re-</i>	
<i>monstrance</i>	82
<i>They address him to turn out his Ministers who</i>	
<i>voted against the Bill of Exclusion</i>	84
<i>They address the King to alter his Ministry</i>	94
<i>They threaten those who should lend the King</i>	
<i>Money</i>	95
<i>His Speech to his last Parliament</i>	100
<i>Reasons for Dissolving his two last Parliaments</i>	104
<i>Dutiful Addresses to his Majesty</i>	107
<i>The Faction determined to seize the King at</i>	
<i>Oxford</i>	118
<i>He narrowly escapes being assassinated at the</i>	
<i>Rye</i>	142
<b>CHARLES</b>	

# The T A B L E.

<b>CHARLES II.</b> <i>Some Account of the Assassination or Rye-House Plot</i>	148
<i>The Assassination of the King and Duke resolved on</i>	151
<i>Addresses on the King's Escape</i>	152
<i>The King forced to abandon Tangier, for want of a Supply</i>	197
<i>A Statue of King Charles II. erected</i>	205
<i>The King and Nation in perfect Tranquillity the latter End of his Reign</i>	206
<i>His Majesty's Declaration of the Loyalty of his Subjects</i>	207
<i>His last Illness</i>	ib.
<i>The Popish Sacraments administered to him</i>	208
<i>He dies</i>	ib.
<i>Various Reports of his Intentions</i>	209
<i>His Person and Character</i>	ib.
<i>His Marriage</i>	214
<i>His natural Issue and their respective Mothers</i>	215
<i>His Title</i>	216
<i>Buildings and Improvements in this Reign</i>	ib.
<i>Noblemen created in this Reign</i>	218
<i>Statutes in this Reign</i>	224
<i>K. James II. endeavours to prove K. Charles II. died a Papist</i>	240
<i>King Charles II. buried privately</i>	241
<i>Charters surrendered</i>	201
<i>The Reason of altering them</i>	ib.
<i>The Whigs the Occasion of their being seized</i>	205
<i>Chelsea-College proposed to be an Hospital for old Soldiers</i>	206
<i>Its Foundation</i>	217
<b>CHURCHMEN</b> <i>the best Subjects, and the greatest Patriots, by the Confession of the Whigs</i>	313
<b>CHURCHMEN</b> , <i>the Revolution brought about by them, and not by the Dissenters</i>	

# The T A B L E.

Churchill, Lord, <i>his Letter to excuse his going over to the Prince of Orange</i>	364
Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	286
<i>He is recall'd, and turn'd out</i>	299
Clergy make a brave Opposition to Popery	291
<i>A High-Commission Court erected, to depress them</i>	292
<i>They are call'd to an Account for not reading the Declaration</i>	336
College, &c. committed for a Conspiracy against the Government	113
<i>The Grand Jury, pack'd by the Whig Sheriffs, refuse to find a Bill against him</i>	114
<i>He is convicted, and executed</i>	115
Comets, several in the Reign of Charles II.	217
CONVENTION meet on the Prince of Orange's Letters	390
<i>Debates concerning the Abdication</i>	394
Contracts, personal	234
Cornish and Bethel, two Fanaticks, elected Sheriffs	75
<i>His Trial</i>	280
CORPORATIONS, an Act for the well-governing of them	227
<i>They are new modell'd</i>	313
Coventry Act	232
Crown, the Parliament of Scotland assert the Hereditary Right of it	118

## D.

DANBY Earl, the Commons prosecute him	8
Dangerfield's, or the Meal-Tub Plot	66
Delamere Lord, &c. apprehended	274
<i>His Trial</i>	286
Denmark	

# The T A B L E.

Denmark Prince, marries the Princess Anne	177
DISPENSING Power, the Judges declare the King has it	290
The Soldiers tamper'd with, to force the Nation to submit to it	337
Distribution of Intestate's Estates	232
Dissenters, the Laws suffer'd to take their Course against them; the Authors of the Tumults	125
The Constitution in no less Danger from the Dissenters than from the Papists	126
Their Addresses of Thanks for dispensing with Oaths	302
Some Remarks upon their Conduct	303
Dugdale's Evidence against Whitebread, &c.	54
DUTCH refuse to send over the Regiments in their Service	327
Their Reasons for assisting the Prince of Orange	353
Dutton Colt, for Words against the Duke of York, to pay 10,000 l. Damages	199
E.	
ESSEX, Earl, found with his Throat cut	169
The most probable Account of the Matter	ib.
Braddon and Speke try'd for charging his Murder on the Government	195
EXCLUSION Bill, Arguments for it	79
Arguments against it	80
Expedients propos'd instead of the Bill	103
Executions in the West	277
F.	
FIRE of London, in the Year 1666	217
Fitzharris's Plot	99
The Whigs tamper with him in Newgate	ib.
His Trial	108
	Fitz-



# The T A B L E.

<i>Fitzharris, he accuses the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Danby</i>	109
<i>But retracts his Evidence</i>	ib.
<i>He is convicted, and confesses a Conspiracy of the Whigs against the Government</i>	110
<i>They tempt him to deny his Confession, but He perseveres in it to the last</i>	111
<i>His Confession printed</i>	112
<i>Frauds and Perjuries prevented</i>	234
<i>Francis, Father, a Mandate to make him Master of Arts</i>	304
<i>Which the University of Cambridge refuse to comply with</i>	305
<i>French Protestants relieved by the King</i>	116
<i>French King offers King James 30000 Men</i>	341
<i>Lord Sunderland perswades him to refuse them</i>	ib.
<i>Frost, a great one, in the Reign of King Charles II.</i>	191

## G.

<b>G</b> AME Dogs, Nets, &c. Qualification	233
<i>Gascoigne, Sir Thomas, try'd for the Popish Plot, and acquitted</i>	71
<i>Gaunt condemn'd and executed for harbouring and assisting the Rebels</i>	ib.
<i>Gerard, Lord, apprehended</i>	274
<i>But is pardon'd by King James</i>	281
<i>Godfrey's Murder; Green, Bury, and Hill, tried for it</i>	28
<i>Green, Prance confesses himself perjured at his Trial</i>	298
<i>Grey, Lord, taken and pardoned</i>	271

## H.

<b>H</b> ABEAS CORPUS Act	48, 235
<i>Hampden try'd for a Misdemeanor</i>	192
<i>His Defence by his Council</i>	193
Hampden	

# The T A B L E.

Hampden <i>fin'd</i> 40000 <i>l</i> .	193
He is pardon'd	281
Holloway, a Conspirator, outlaw'd and executed	198
Hough, Dr. President of Magdalen College, deprived by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes	307

## J.

JAMES II. proclaim'd	237
His Speech to the Council	238
He goes to Mass publickly, the first Sunday after his Accession	239
He endeavours to prove the late King died a Papist	240
The Coronation	241
He is proclaim'd in Scotland and Ireland	242
His Speech to the Parliament	248
Demands his Revenue for Life	249
The Commons grant him all he asks, and promise to stand by him	ib. 258
The Speaker's Speech on presenting him with the Bill for his Revenue	252
He tells them, he desires no more Money	253
Raises the Militia, on whom he had little Dependance	260
Six Regiments arrive from Holland	261
Prince of Orange offers to bring over more Forces	ib.
The King charged with Cruelty	271
This Charge enquired into	272
Address against his employing Popish Officers	284
He attempts to establish Popery in Ireland	287
He proposes to indulge the Papists in Scotland	ib.

JAMES

# The T A B L E.

JAMES II. <i>Closets his Judges, and the</i>	
<i>Members of Parliament</i>	289
<i>The Judges turn'd out for declaring against</i>	
<i>the dispensing Power</i>	ib.
<i>A Popish Judge made</i>	ib.
<i>Popish Privy Counsellors</i>	290
<i>Papists allow'd the open Exercise of their</i>	
<i>Religion</i>	291
<i>Preaching against Popery prohibited</i>	ib.
<i>The Clergy make a brave Opposition to Popery</i>	ib.
<i>A High-Commission Court erected to depress</i>	
<i>the Clergy</i>	292
<i>Dr. Sharp cited to appear before the Com-</i>	
<i>missioners</i>	294
<i>The Forces encamp'd at Hounslow, to keep</i>	
<i>the People in Awe</i>	296
<i>An Embassy to the See of Rome</i>	300
<i>Liberty of Conscience proclaim'd in Scot-</i>	
<i>land</i>	ib.
<i>A Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in</i>	
<i>England</i>	301
<i>Penal Laws suspended</i>	302
<i>Oaths dispensed with</i>	ib.
<i>The noble Stand made by the Members of</i>	
<i>Parliament</i>	308
<i>The Parliament dissolved</i>	313
<i>The Prosecution of Maudlin College revived</i>	314
<i>The King threatens the Fellows</i>	315
<i>He endeavours to get a Parliament of his</i>	
<i>Mind</i>	321
<i>He endeavours to get the Prince of Orange</i>	
<i>into his Measures</i>	ib.
<i>A Nuncio from the Pope makes his publick</i>	
<i>Entry</i>	323
<i>The King encreases his Fleet and Army</i>	326

JAMES

# The T A B L E.

JAMES II. <i>The Dutch refuse to send over the Regiments in their Service</i>	327
<i>Another Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, ordered to be read in Churches, and distributed by the Bishops</i>	ib.
<i>The Soldiers tamper'd with to force the Nation to submit to a dispensing Power, which they refuse</i>	337
<i>Whereupon, the King designs to new modell his Army</i>	ib.
<i>The French King offers him 30,000 Men</i>	341
<i>Sunderland perswades him to refuse them</i>	ib.
<i>A Memorial presented to the States on their Armament</i>	342
<i>Another by the French Ambassador, threatening War, if any thing was attempted against England</i>	ib.
<i>The Dutch own their intended Invasion</i>	343
<i>The King offers to restore the Clergy, and People, to their Rights</i>	344
<i>The Bishops Advice to the King</i>	345
<i>He complies with great part of it</i>	346
<i>His Declaration, that a Conquest was intended</i>	ib.
<i>A Pardon publish'd</i>	347
<i>The King's Preparations for his Defence</i>	ib.
<i>Earl of Sunderland disgraced for betraying the King</i>	349
<i>The King demands of the Bishops, if they invited the Prince of Orange over, as he declared</i>	355
<i>Requires them to sign an Abhorrence of the Invasion</i>	356
<i>A second Declaration against the Prince</i>	358
<i>The Lords Petition and Advice to the King, at London</i>	362
<i>His Speeck to his Officers</i>	363
N n n	JAMES



# The T A B L E.

JAMES II. <i>He goes to Salisbury</i>	364
<i>He is deserted by the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, Duke of Ormond, and the Prince of Denmark</i>	ib.
<i>Lord Churchill's Letter</i>	ib.
<i>The Prince of Denmark's Letter</i>	365
<i>The King issues Writs for a Parliament</i>	366
<i>He sends to treat with the Prince of Orange</i>	ib.
<i>He sends away the Queen and Prince, and attempts to follow them</i>	367
<i>The Writs for a Parliament recall'd</i>	ib.
<i>The Guards declare for the Prince of Orange</i>	368
<i>The King stopp'd at Feversham</i>	370
<i>He returns to London</i>	371
<i>Sends for the Earl of Feversham, to treat with the Prince, but the Earl is made Prisoner</i>	371
<i>The Dutch Guards take Possession of White- hall, and turn out the King's Guards</i>	372
<i>The King goes to Rochester with a Dutch Guard</i>	ib.
<i>The King goes over to France</i>	373
<i>His Reasons for it</i>	ib.
<i>Instances of King James's Male-Admini- stration</i>	424
<i>His Title</i>	435
<i>His Character</i>	ib.
<i>His Marriage and Issue</i>	441
<i>His natural Issue</i>	443
<i>Statutes pass'd in his Reign</i>	444
<i>Creations of Nobility</i>	445
JEFFREYS, <i>Serjeant, made Lord Chief Justice</i>	178
<i>He, and other Judges sent to try the Rebels in the West</i>	274
<i>He is made Lord Chancellor</i>	279

# The T A B L E.

J E F F R E Y S, *Serjeant, sent to the Tower, where he dies* 369

J E S U I T S, *Five try'd* 3

Johnson's *Address to the Army* 297

*He is pillory'd and whipp'd* ib.

*Irish Alarm* 369

J U D G E S *turn'd out for declaring against the dispensing Power* 289

*A Popish Judge made* ib.

*The Judges, in Sir Edward Hale's Case, declare, the King had a dispensing Power* 290

Julian, Johnson's *Libel* 136

*He is fined for it* 195

K.

K N I G H T S *Service taken away* 225

L.

L A N G H O R N E, *Counsellor, his Trial* 58

Lauderdale, Duke, *the Commons address against him* 44

*His Death* 142

*Libels, seditious, some Booksellers punish'd for them* 71, 198

L I B E R T Y O F C O N S C I E N C E *in England* 301

*A Declaration for it, order'd to be read in Churches, and distributed by the Bishops* 327

Lisle, Mrs. *her Trial* 275

L O N D O N, *the City send a Body of Horse, with their Members, to Oxford* 98

*A Quo Warranto brought against the City* 140

*A Declaration of the Power of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen* 145

*The Quo Warranto try'd* ib.

# The T A B L E.

<i>Judgment against the City</i>	146
<i>Terms required of them</i>	147
<i>The King discovering a Plot against his Life, &amp;c. takes Advantage of the Judgment</i>	ib.
<i>Judgment entered on the Quo Warranto against the City</i>	117
<i>The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &amp;c. hold their Offi- ces by the King's Commission</i>	178
<i>The Lord Mayor, &amp;c. invite the P. of Orange to London</i>	368

## M.

<b>M</b> Agdalen-College Oxford, a Mandate to elect a President named by the King	306
<i>Maiming, or Coventry Act</i>	232
<i>Meal-Tub Plot</i>	66
<i>Medals struck on the Victory over the Duke of Monmouth</i>	270
<i>Militia, the Command thereof declared to be in the King</i>	227
<i>A Bill proposed to make it more useful</i>	283
<b>MONMOUTH</b> , Duke, defeats the Scots at Bothwell-Bridge	53
<i>He is sent abroad</i>	62
<i>Great Rejoicings made for his Return</i>	67
<i>The Faction declare the King was married to the Duke's Mother</i>	72
<i>The King declares he never was</i>	73
<i>The Duke's seditious Behaviour</i>	75
<i>He goes with several more to present the Duke of York for a Papist</i>	76
<i>He confesses the Rye Plot</i>	182
<i>His Letter to the King</i>	183
<i>He surrenders himself</i>	185
<i>Acknowledges his Guilt again under his Hand</i>	186
<i>He goes to Holland</i>	191
<i>He lands in the West</i>	256
<i>His Declaration</i>	ib.

# The T A B L E.

<b>MONMOUTH,</b> <i>the Parliament attaint him</i>	258
5000 l. <i>set upon his Head</i>	ib.
<i>He advances from Lyme to Taunton</i>	ib.
<i>He is proclaimed King, contrary to his Declaration and his own Opinion</i>	259
<i>He sets 5000 l. upon the King's Head</i>	ib.
<i>He attempts to possess himself of Bristol and Bath in vain</i>	261
<i>He retires to Bridgewater</i>	262
<i>He attempts to surprize the King's Forces at Sedgemore</i>	ib.
<i>He is routed</i>	263
<i>He is taken</i>	265
<i>Mr. Echard's Account of his Execution</i>	266
<i>His Popularity</i>	269
<i>Medals struck on the Victory.</i>	270
<b>Morland, Sir Samuel,</b> <i>his Water-Engine</i>	123
<i>He is made Master of the Mechanicks</i>	ib.

## N.

<b>N</b> Elthorp <i>the Rebel executed</i>	281
<i>News-Papers, a Proclamation for suppressing them</i>	71

## O.

<b>O</b> ates and Bedloe <i>accuse the Queen</i>	1
<i>They charge the Chief Justice with Corruption</i>	61
<i>They petition the Council against him</i>	71
<b>Oates,</b> <i>for Words against the Duke of York, condemned to pay 100,000 l. Damages</i>	199
<i>He is convicted of Perjury in two Indictments</i>	244
<i>Remarks on his Punishment</i>	245
<i>Oaths altered</i>	429
<b>ORANGE,</b> <i>Prince, offers to bring over Forces to the Assistance of King James</i>	261
<i>The King endeavours to bring him into his Measures</i>	321

## ORANGE,



# The T A B L E.

ORANGE, <i>Prince, his Thoughts of Repealing the Test</i>	321
<i>He is invited over by the Nation</i>	338
<i>He prepares to make a Descent on England</i>	340
<i>His Declaration</i>	350
<i>An additional Declaration</i>	351
<i>The Reasons given by the States for assisting him</i>	353
<i>He takes leave of the States</i>	ib.
<i>He sets Sail for England</i>	354
<i>Is driven back by a Storm</i>	355
<i>He sets Sail again</i>	357
<i>He lands at Torbay</i>	258
<i>A second Declaration against him</i>	ib.
<i>He arrives at Exeter</i>	359
<i>An Association signed in his Favour</i>	360
<i>The Lords Colchester, Cornbury, &amp;c. with some of the King's Troops, revolt to the Prince</i>	361
<i>He advances to Salisbury</i>	365
<i>Insurrections in his Favour</i>	ib.
<i>King James sends to treat with him</i>	366
<i>The Lords in London resolve to apply to the Prince</i>	368
<i>The Lord Mayor, &amp;c. invite him to London</i>	ib.
<i>He arrives at Windsor</i>	370
<i>He arrives at St. James's</i>	372
<i>He advises with the Lords about Town on the Situation of Affairs</i>	ib.
<i>They address him to take the Administration upon him, &amp;c.</i>	374
<i>The Members of the late Parliament and the City present the like Addresses to him</i>	375
<i>The Prince receives the Sacrament of the Bishop of London</i>	ib.
<i>He assembles the Scots Nobility and Gentry about Town</i>	376

ORANGE,

# The T A B L E.

<b>ORANGE, Prince,</b> <i>they desire him to take upon him the Administration of that Kingdom</i>	377
<i>He borrows 200,000 l. of the City</i>	ib.
<i>The Prince insists upon being King for Life</i>	423
<i>With whom the two Houses concur</i>	ib.
<b>Ormond, Duke,</b> <i>his Death</i>	376
<b>Oxford University,</b> <i>Decree against the Doctrine of Resistance, &amp;c.</i>	172

## P.

<b>PAPISTS</b> <i>Address against his Majesty's employing Popish Officers</i>	284
<i>Allowed the open Exercise of their Religion</i>	291
<i>Preaching against Popery prohibited</i>	ib.
<i>Papists preferred</i>	324
<b>PARLIAMENT,</b> <i>that which sat 18 Years dissolved</i>	28
<i>Differences between the two Houses, concerning the Trial of the Earl of Danby and the Popish Lords</i>	45
<i>The Commons resolve on a Bill of Exclusion, and to revenge the King's Death on the Papists</i>	46
<i>Resolutions of the Lords concerning Trials</i>	47
<i>Disputes concerning the Right of the Spiritual Lords to vote in Trials</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions for the Meeting of the Parliament discouraged</i>	68
<i>The Commons apprehend Gentlemen they had no Authority over</i>	85
<i>They impeach the Lord Chief Justice</i>	ib.
<i>They bribe the Dutchess of Portsmouth, and procure Memorials from abroad</i>	95
<i>Their extravagant Votes on the Prorogation of the Parliament</i>	ib.
<i>They take upon them to suspend the Laws</i>	96
<i>The Lord Mayor, &amp;c. petition for the Sitting of the Parliament</i>	ib.
<i>Instructions given to the Members</i>	97

## PARLIA-

# The T A B L E.

PARLIAMENT, <i>they go upon the Bill of</i>	
<i>Exclusion again</i>	101
<i>Which occasions a Difference between the two</i>	
<i>Houses</i>	102
<i>An Act for declaring the Rump-Parliament</i>	
<i>dissolved</i>	224, 226
<i>An Act declaring the Parliament cannot law-</i>	
<i>fully levy War against the Crown</i>	227
<i>Triennial Parliaments, an Act for holding</i>	
<i>them</i>	230
<i>The Lords complain their Privileges were in-</i>	
<i>vaded</i>	285
<i>Perjuries, an Act to prevent them</i>	234
<i>Petre, Father, made a Privy-Counsellor</i>	325
<i>Pilkington and Shute chosen Sheriffs</i>	117
<i>The Duke of York brings an Action of Scan-</i>	
<i>dalum magnatum against Pilkington</i>	140
<i>Plague in England</i>	217
POPISH-PLOT	3
<i>Ireland, Pickering, and Grove condemned</i>	
<i>for it</i>	7
<i>The Prosecution of the Plot revived</i>	35
<i>Resolution concerning the Plot</i>	36
<i>Counsellor Reading fined and pilloried for tam-</i>	
<i>pering with Bedloe</i>	42
<i>Whitebread objects he had been tried for the</i>	
<i>same Fact before</i>	55
<i>His Defence</i>	ib.
<i>The Chief Justice directs the Jury to find him</i>	
<i>guilty</i>	57
<i>The Jesuits executed</i>	60
<i>Sir George Wakeman and others tried for the</i>	
<i>Plot</i>	ib.
<i>They are acquitted by the Direction of the Chief</i>	
<i>Justice</i>	61
<i>Priests condemned for taking Popish Orders</i>	ib.
<i>Oates and Bedloe charge the Chief Justice</i>	
<i>with Corruption</i>	ib.

POPISH-

# The T A B L E.

<b>POPISH-PLOT,</b> <i>His Lordship's Declaration thereupon</i>	16
<i>A Libel stiled, An Appeal from the Country, &amp;c.</i>	67
<i>Oates and Bedloe petition the Council against the Lord Chief Justice</i>	71
<i>Sir Thomas Gascoigne tried for the Plot, and acquitted</i>	ib.
<i>The Countess of Powis indicted</i>	73
<i>Bedloe in his last Illness asserts the Truth of the Plot</i>	74
<i>The Commons expel the Abhorrers, and those who would not believe the Plot</i>	77
<i>Dr. Tongue, recommended to the King for Preferment</i>	78
<i>The Lord Stafford's Trial for the Popish Plot</i>	85
<i>Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville witness against him</i>	86
<i>Their Credit objected to</i>	ib.
<i>His Execution</i>	89
<i>The Practices of the Faction to procure Witnesses of the Plot</i>	90
<i>Fitz-Harris accuses the Queen, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Danby, of the Popish Plot</i>	109
<i>Oates convicted of Perjury on two Indictments</i>	244
<i>Remarks on his Punishments</i>	245
<i>Popish Lords bailed out of the Tower, and discharged</i>	250
<i>Post-Office, General, erected</i>	226
<i>Prance forced to be an Evidence in the Popish Plot</i>	23
<i>He retracts his Evidence before the King and Council</i>	27
<i>He is tortured to make him return to his former Evidence</i>	ib.



# The T A B L E.

<i>Prance confesses himself perjured at the Trial of</i>	
<i>Green</i>	298
<i>Pretender born</i>	333
<i>The People suspect an Imposture</i>	ib.
<i>He is christened</i>	347
<i>Depositions of his Birth</i>	349
<i>Pritchard, Lord Mayor, recovers 10,000 l. Damages against Papillon and Dubois</i>	205

## Q.

<b>Q</b> <i>ualification for killing Game</i>	233
<i>Queen of King Charles II. accused of the Popish Plot by Oates and Bedloe</i>	1
<i>Queen, King James's, declared to be with Child</i>	325
<i>A Form of Prayer for her</i>	ib.
<i>The Behaviour of the Papists thereupon</i>	326
<i>She is delivered of a Prince</i>	333
<i>A Thanksgiving for it</i>	ib.
<b>Q</b> <i>uo Warranto brought against the City</i>	140
<i>It is tried</i>	145
<i>Judgment against the City</i>	146
<i>Judgment entered against the City</i>	177

## R.

<b>R</b> <i>eading, Counsellor, fined and pilloried for tampering with Bedloe</i>	42
<i>Regicides, an Act for the Attainder of them</i>	226
<i>Resistance, Decree of the University of Oxford against that Doctrine</i>	172
<i>Restoration, Anniversary-Thanksgiving on the 29th of May</i>	224
<b>REVOLUTION, the Prince of Orange invited over</b>	338
<i>The Prince and the Dutch no less concerned in point of Interest than the English</i>	339
<i>He prepares to make a Descent on England</i>	340
<b>REVO-</b>	

# The T A B L E.

REVOLUTION, <i>A Memorial presented to the States on their Armament</i>	342
<i>Another by the French Ambassador, threatening War if any thing was attempted against England</i>	ib.
<i>Sunderland persuades the King to renounce any Alliance with France</i>	343
<i>The Dutch own their intended Invasion</i>	ib.
<i>A Form of Prayer on the Invasion</i>	346
<i>The King's Declaration that a Conquest was intended</i>	ib.
<i>His Preparations for his Defence</i>	347
<i>Prince of Orange's Declaration</i>	350
<i>An additional Declaration</i>	351
<i>The Reasons given by the States for assisting the Prince</i>	353
<i>He sets Sail for England</i>	354
<i>Driven back by a Storm</i>	355
<i>He sets Sail again</i>	357
<i>Lands at Torbay</i>	358
<i>A second Declaration against him</i>	ib.
<i>He arrives at Exeter</i>	359
<i>An Association signed to stand by him</i>	360
<i>The Lords Colchester, Cornbury, &amp;c. revolt to the Prince</i>	361
<i>The Lords Petition and Advice to the King at London</i>	362
<i>The King goes to Salisbury</i>	364
<i>He is deserted by the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, Duke of Ormond, and the Prince of Denmark</i>	ib.
<i>Prince of Orange advances to Salisbury</i>	365
<i>Insurrections in his Favour</i>	ib.
<i>The Lords in London resolve to apply to him</i>	368
<i>The Mob pull down the Popish Chapels</i>	369
<i>The Dutch Guards take Possession of White-hall, and turn out the King's Guards</i>	372

# The T A B L E.

REVOLUTION, <i>Dr. Sherlock's Letter concerning the State of Things at that time</i>	377
<i>Resolution of the Commons concerning the Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne</i>	390
<i>A Free Conference desired</i>	394
<i>Right of the People asserted</i>	426
<i>The Prince and Princess of Orange declared King and Queen</i>	428
<i>Some Reflexions on these Proceedings</i>	430
<i>Ring condemned and executed for the Rye-Plot</i>	281
<i>Rocheſter, Earl, refusing to turn Papiſt, is diſcarded by King James</i>	299
<i>Rosewel's Trial for treaſonable Words in his Sermon</i>	205
<i>Rouſe and Shaftsbury acquitted by Ignoramus Juries</i>	117
<i>Royal Society erected</i>	217
<i>Rumbold the Aſſaſſin taken and executed</i>	255
<i>Rupert, Prince, dies</i>	141
<i>Ruſſel, Lord, his Trial</i>	155
<i>Lord Howard's Evidence</i>	157
<i>Lord Ruſſel's Defence</i>	158
<i>He is convicted</i>	161
<i>He might have been pardoned, if he had not maintained the Doctrin of Reſiſtance</i>	ib.
<i>Dr. Tillotſon's Letter to him while under Sentence of Death</i>	ib.
<i>The Subſtance of his Speech</i>	166
<i>Remarks on his Profeſſions of his Innocence</i>	168
<i>He is beheaded</i>	172
RYE-HOUSE-PLOT, <i>The King narrowly eſcapes being aſſaſſinated</i>	142, 148
<i>Romſey becomes an Evidence</i>	149
<i>The Conſpiracy managed by a Council of Six</i>	150
<i>The Conſpirators divide the City into 20 Parts, under as many Leaders</i>	151
<i>The Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke deſigned to have been perpetrated at the Rye, Hert.</i>	ib.
R Y E-	

# The T A B L E.

<b>RYE-HOUSE-PLOT,</b> <i>Prevented by a</i>	
<i>Fire at Newmarket</i>	152
<i>Rouse tried and convicted</i>	171
<i>Blague acquitted</i>	ib.
<i>Walcot, How, and Rouse executed</i>	ib.
<i>A Thanksgiving for the Discovery of the Plot</i>	177
<i>An Answer to Dr. Burnet's Suggestions</i>	187
<i>Some of the Conspirators discharged</i>	192
<i>L. Howard's Evidence against Mr. Hampden</i>	ib.
<i>Earl of Danby and the Popish Lords admitted to Bail</i>	195
S.	
<b>SCOTS</b> <i>rebel</i>	48
<i>The Rebels proclaim the Covenant</i>	52
<i>Surprize Glascow</i>	ib.
<i>Ravage the Country</i>	ib.
<i>The Parliament assert the Hereditary Right to the Crown</i>	118
<i>A Test to be taken in Scotland</i>	119
<i>A Parliament held there</i>	242
<i>Their Address to the King</i>	243
<i>Acts pass'd by them</i>	ib.
<i>Liberty of Conscience proclaim'd</i>	300
<i>The penal Laws suspended there</i>	301
<b>SHAFTSBURY</b> <i>tortures several Men, to make them swear as he would have them</i>	18
<i>He attempts to unite the Factions of each Kingdom</i>	38
<i>He is President of the Council</i>	40
<i>But still a Malecontent, and embarrasses the King's Affairs</i>	41
<i>Proposes to his Party the Exclusion of the Duke of York</i>	ib.
	His



# The T A B L E.

<i>His Practices with Monmouth, to defeat the Succession</i>	62
<i>He is turn'd out</i>	ib.
<i>He is committed for a Conspiracy against the Government</i>	113
<i>Acquitted by Ignoramus Juries</i>	117
<i>Addresses against his Association</i>	123
<i>He brings Actions against his Enemies, and drops them</i>	137
<i>He flies to Holland, and dies at Amsterdam</i>	138
<i>Sharp, Dr. his Sermon gives Offence</i>	293
<i>He is order'd to be suspended</i>	ib.
<i>The Bishop of London excuses his suspending him</i>	ib.
<i>Sheriffs, Rioters at the Election of them try'd</i>	143
<i>Sidney, Colonel, his Trial</i>	178
<i>The Substance of the Indictment</i>	ib.
<i>His Confession in a Letter to the Secretary</i>	154
<i>Lord Howard's Evidence against him</i>	179
<i>His Defence</i>	180
<i>He glories that he died for the good old Cause</i>	182
<i>He is beheaded</i>	ib.
<i>Somerfet, Duke, turn'd out</i>	324
<i>Stamford, Earl, his Trial order'd</i>	285
<i>He is pardon'd</i>	286
<i>Sunderland, Earl, made Secretary of State</i>	16
<i>He is turn'd out</i>	96
<i>He is made President of the Council</i>	286
<i>Turns Papist</i>	298
<i>He is disgraced for betraying the King</i>	349

T.

<b>T</b> <i>Albot made Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Ireland</i>	288
<i>He</i>	

# The T A B L E.

<i>He is made Earl of Tyrconnel, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland</i>	288
<i>Tangier, the King demands Supplies for the Defence of it</i>	82
<i>Test, the Commons declare against suspending it</i>	284
<i>Thynne assassinated</i>	126
<i>Tobacco prohibited to be planted in England, or Ireland</i>	226
<i>Tongue, Dr. a Plot Discoverer, recommend- ed to the King for Preferment</i>	78

## V.

### VACANCY of the Throne. See A B- DICATION

<i>Vienna Siege</i>	191
<i>Uniformity Act</i>	228
<i>UNIVERSITIES, a Popish Head of a College in Cambridge</i>	304
<i>The Vice-Chancellor and Senate summon'd before the High Commission</i>	ib.
<i>The Vice-Chancellor deprived</i>	306
<i>They elect another, and are summon'd be- fore the High Commission</i>	ib.
<i>Another Mandate to elect the Bishop of Ox- ford</i>	308
<i>Commissioners sent to visit the College</i>	317
<i>Their Decree</i>	318
<i>They install the Bishop of Oxford, and break open the President's Lodgings</i>	ib.
<i>The Fellows required to sign a Submission</i>	319
<i>Which they refuse, and are expell'd, and the Sentence confirm'd</i>	320

## W.

<i>WARD convicted of Perjury</i>	144
<i>Whigs exposed by Dryden and L'Estrange</i>	107
<i>They</i>	

# The T A B L E.

<i>They threaten the Jury at Fitzharris's Trial</i>	110
<i>They tempt him to deny his Confession</i>	111
<i>The Faction triumph</i>	118
<i>They invite their Friends to a Feast in the City</i>	133
<i>They continue to raise their Mobs, and insult the Government, but are suppress'd</i>	139
<i>They arrest the Lord Mayor, &amp;c. in order to raise an Insurrection</i>	142
<i>Wills to be in Writing, &amp;c. subscribed by three Witnesses, in the Presence of the Testator</i>	234

## Y.

<b>Y</b> ORK, Duke, sent beyond Sea	33
Shaftsbury proposes the Exclusion of the Duke	41
<i>The Substance of the Bill of Exclusion</i>	47
<i>Practices of Monmouth and Shaftsbury, to defeat the Succession</i>	ib.
<i>Earl Mulgrave's Account of the Difference between the Duke of York and Monmouth</i>	63
<i>The Duke and his Family go to Scotland</i>	64
<i>The King sends for him to Court</i>	70
<i>Rejoicings at his Return</i>	ib.
<i>The Duke goes to Scotland again</i>	76
<i>The Bill of Exclusion carried to the House of Lords</i>	84
<i>Thrown out there by a great Majority</i>	ib.
<i>An Association proposed against the Duke's Accession</i>	93
<i>The Commons go upon the Bill of Exclusion again</i>	101
<i>The Duke in Danger of being cast away</i>	133
<i>The Duke and his Family return from Scotland</i>	136

The E N D.

28-1955-4









